published monthly since 1866

The Fortnightly

FOUNDED IN 1865 BY ANTHONY TROLLOPE

MAY, 1949 CMLXXXIX N.S.

Illinois U Library

CONTENTS

MAX AMERICANA	WILLIAM RYDAL
CZECHOSLOVAKIA NOW	A CZECHOSLOVAK CORRESPONDENT
ITALIAN UNION AIMS	RICCARDO LUZZATTO
THE RUSSIAN ATTACK ON REASON	JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES
CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY	W. R. INGE
ETERNITY IN GREAT BRITAIN	DUGALD BAIRD
PROGRESS REPORT—*A Poem*	RALPH LAWRENCE
THE EZIRA COTTON SCHEME	C. ARMINE WILLIS
FLORENTINE LETTER	BRUCE BAIN
AMERICAN BOOKS AND THE AMERICAN DREAM	GRACE WOOD
COME FROM INDIA—*A Poem*	GORDON SYMES

Correspondence—Indo-China and Home Rule
Is Germany being democratized ?

The Fortnightly Library :
MARIA EDGEWORTH AND A "GENTLEMAN-PHILOSOPHER" — W. FORBES GRAY

Other Contributors : Sir Henry Slesser, H. G. Nicholas, S. Reed Brett, Gordon Winter, John Halet, E. W. Martin, W. Thomson Hill, Philip Morris, Grace Banyard.

PRICE 3S. 6D. OR 75 CENTS ALL RIGHTS RESERVED 42S. OR $8 50 PER ANNUM

ALL CLASSES OF INSURANCE TRANSACTED

MOTOR UNION
INSURANCE COMPANY LIMITED
10, ST. JAMES'S STREET, LONDON, S.W.1.

To Overseas Readers . . . .

If you wish to receive THE FORTNIGHTLY regularly and are living in one of the countries in the list below, you can place your subscription order with the agent named. Annual subscription to THE FORTNIGHTLY is £2. 2. 0 (six months £1. 1s.)

BELGIUM
Agence et Messageries de la Presse,
14-22, Rue du Persil,
Brussels.
The English Bookshop,
75, Boulevard Adolphe Max,
Brussels.

CEYLON
H. W. Cave & Co., Ltd.,
P.O. Box 25,
Colombo.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA
Messrs. Orbis Newsagents,
P.O. Box 240,
Praha 1.

DENMARK
Messrs. A. C. Illum,
Ostergade,
Copenhagen.

EGYPT
Messrs. N. & G. Chrissanthou,
25, Boulevard Saad Zaghloul
Alexandria.

FINLAND
Messrs. Akateeminen Kirjakauppa,
Keskuskatu 2,
Helsingfors.

FRANCE
Librairie H. Le Soudier,
174, Boulevard St. Germain,
Paris.
Nouvelle Messageries de la Press Parisienne
111, Rue Reaumur,
Paris 2e.
Messrs. W. H. Smith & Son,
248, Rue de Rivoli,
Paris.

GERMANY
Fa. Ausland-Zeitungshandel,
W. F. Saarbach,
Frankenstrasse 14,
Koeln-Junkersdorf.

GREECE
Librairie Kauffmann,
28, Rue Winston Churchill,
Athens.

HOLLAND
Messrs. Van Gelderen & Zoon,
Postbox 826,
Damrak 35,
Amsterdam C.

HUNGARY
Messrs. Ibusz,
Akademia u. 10,
Budapest.

INDIA
Messrs. Newman & Co.,
3, Old Court House Street,
Calcutta.
The Oxford Book & Stationery Co.,
Park Street,
Calcutta.
Messrs. Varadachary & Co.,
8, Lingha Chetty Street,
Madras.

ITALY
Libreria Internazionale,
Ulrico Hoepli,
Galleria Piazza Colonna
Roma.

KENYA
Messrs. S. J. Moore,
Government Road,
Nairobi.

NORWAY
Messrs. Narvesens,
Kioskkompani,
Box 125,
Oslo.

PORTUGAL
Livraria Bertrand,
73, Rua Garrett. 75,
Lisbonne.

SOUTH AMERICA
Acme Agency,
Casilla de Correo 1136,
Buenos Aires.
Messrs. Casa Crashley Ltd.,
58, Ouvidor,
Caixa Postal 96,
Rio de Janeiro.

SPAIN
Sociedad General Espanola de Libreria,
Evaristo San Miguel 9,
Madrid.
Sociedad General Espanola de Libreria,
Barbara 14 y 61 bis,
Barcelona.

SUDAN
The Sudan Bookshop,
P.O. Box 156,
Khartoum.

SWEDEN
Messrs. Wennergren-Williams, A.B.
Drottningsgatan 71 D,
Stockholm.

TURKEY
Librairie Hachette,
469, Avenue de l'indepandance, 469,
Istanbul.

U.S.A. and Canada.

Rate : Annual subscription $8.50 (six months $4.25)

Brentano's Inc., 586, Fifth Avenue, N.Y. City, New York.
Crowley, Inc., 511-513, E. 164th Street, New York 56, New York.
Wm. Dawson Subscription Service, Ltd., 60, Front Street, West, Toronto 1, Canada.
The F. W. Faxon Co., Faxon Buildings, 83-91, Francis Street, Back Bay, Boston 15, Mass.
Herman Goldberger Agency, Inc., 147, Essex Street, Boston 11, Mass.
Hanson-Bennett Magazine Agency, 529, S. Franklin Street, Chicago 7, Illinois.
International News Co., 131, Varick Street, New York 13, New York.
Moore-Cottrell Subscription Agencies, Inc., North Cohocton, New York.
Mutual Subscription Agency, 1420, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.
National Publications Co., 1106, S. Broadway, Los Angeles 15, California.
Smith & McCance, 5, Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.

THE FORTNIGHTLY

MAY, 1949

PAX AMERICANA

BY WILLIAM RYDAL

"I AM confident", declared President Truman on March 17, 1948, when welcoming the fifty-years Brussels Treaty for the common defence of Western Europe, "that the United States will by appropriate means extend to the free nations the support which the situation requires." A year and a day later, exactly, with the publication of the terms of the North Atlantic Treaty, Europe obtains from his Administration an explicit pledge of reciprocal assistance—the very commitment which was sought in vain thirty years ago. Thanks to Marshal Stalin, then, collective security, regarded in the inter-war years as the talisman of peace, exists to-day on a scale hitherto unrealizable—subject always to approval of the pact by a two-thirds majority of the Senate. And, since it means the mobilizing of a preponderance of power on the side of the democracies (including atomic power), the maxim of Canning about calling in the New World to redress the balance of the Old acquires a new and inestimably precious significance. Mr. Bevin may well speak of "a most famous historical undertaking."*

And yet, and yet . . . public opinion, in this country and on the Continent of Europe at any rate, is not wildly excited about it—and public opinion is right. For the Atlantic Treaty, whatever its merits as a piece of diplomatic joinery, does no more than register and record a state of affairs which became painfully evident in the course of the 1939-1945 war; that in the realm of strategy under present-day conditions the scale of thinking must be oceanic, that not only has the *Pax Britannica* become a back number but Europe itself, owing to hard military and economic facts, must, willy-nilly, resign itself to playing second fiddle in the world orchestra. "Every single European State, including Britain, is to-day obsolete both as an economic unit and as a defence unit."†

The wistful conception of an 'international third force', a self-sufficient unit standing alongside the two giants, U.S. and U.S.S.R., and uncommitted to either—which remains the dogma of the 'keep left' group of socialists here and the aspiration of millions of 'little

*House of Commons statement, March 17, 1949.

† From an article "Union: Now or Never" by A Student of Europe in *The Observer* of January 18, 1948.

Europeans ' on the Continent, has now to be abandoned (not merely put into cold storage). And the democracies, the so-called " peace-loving " nations (seen through a western lens) find themselves now irrevocably committed to the world balance of power system which in their hearts they abominate.

Now, far be it from me to suggest that this " roof of security ", in Mr. Bevin's words, is not necessary or well-conceived. The two progenitors of ' Western Union ', Mr. Bevin and Mr. Churchill, have been of one mind in preaching that, as in the economic sphere, the collaboration on the political plane of the mighty transatlantic elements is essential for effective resistance to the Russian challenge. Baulked in their efforts to establish, through a Military Staff Committee, an international force for the use of the United Nations, the several States that subscribe to the values of western civilization have had perforce to fall back on the old-fashioned alliance system in the form of " regional " pacts, which have the character of interim safeguards and nothing more. (It is plain that Atlantic Union will now have to be completed by other oceanic pacts of a similar nature—Mediterranean, Pacific and Indian Ocean pacts—in order to provide, on paper, that security which the United Nations cannot give.) And the ordinary man these days is vaguely conscious that " in any system of collective security there is a gap between the verbal promise of action and the means to make action effective."*

The fact is that this *Pax Americana* which is now our portion requires somewhat closer analysis, both in itself and in relation to the communist challenge which it is designed to meet. *The Economist* of March 19, broached some of the necessary questions. First of all it is arguable that the potency of the pact has been impaired by its extension, at the initial stage, to too many countries : " the dispersal of American resources is the wrong answer to the concentration of Russian strength." Italy, only by courtesy an ' Atlantic ' country, might well have been excluded from an association in which, now and for some time to come, she can only be a liability. The present ascendancy of Signor de Gasperi and his Christian democrats is sufficiently precarious to make one doubt the wisdom of presenting his opponents with the weapon of agitation against involvement of the country in war. If, as is only right, Italy is to be reclaimed for the western democratic fold from which, under Mussolini, she strayed, the way in is through the O.E.E.C., of which she is a useful and active member, and the infant Council of Europe. As for Portugal, an Atlantic country *par excellence*, the difficulty there lies in the insertion in the Treaty of a preamble embodying political tenets—democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law—to which the Salazarian régime, with its many virtues, simply does not conform, in any but a Pick-

* *The Times*, April 5, 1949.

wickian sense. The artificers of the pact seem indeed to have taken precious little care about Dr. Salazar's susceptibilities or his peculiar difficulties on account of the tie-up with Franco Spain. It is good news that the Portuguese Government, after due consultation with the Spanish, has had the courage to go ahead alone and join up—though publicly repudiating the only real contribution Portugal could make, that is, the use of bases in peacetime. But, astonishingly enough, neither the State Department nor the Foreign Office seem to have realized that the inclusion of Portugal may very well have the effect of forcing the issue on Spain's continued exclusion from western association in its different forms—which is the last thing, one imagines, that they want to happen. Finally, the hoisting of the flag of Iceland (as indeed Norway's and Denmark's banners, too) draws attention, inevitably, to the essentially military texture of the fabric —which is a bull-point for the latter-day Moscow-manipulated peace crusaders.

It is as well for us to be aware of the misgivings felt by many American liberals who are in no wise fellow-travellers and whom, in the ordinary way, one would expect to be throwing up their hats for collective security.* These are the people who have long campaigned for the U.S. to take an active part in international affairs. They welcomed with enthusiasm the kind of lead given by the Marshall Plan because it represented a way of going ahead without Russia but not against her, and because it was predicated on the view that the challenge of Communism in western Europe and elsewhere could only, or primarily, be met by the restoration of economic prosperity and decent social conditions. Now, the Atlantic Treaty, with its military penumbra and implications, is patently an anti-Russian contrivance and, moreover, appears likely, if adequate supplies of arms and equipment are to be forthcoming, to hamper seriously the programme of economic and social recovery, notwithstanding formal assurances from the State Department to the contrary. It is not merely the European end about which they are concerned. They foresee trouble at home, from Congress, if the Administration has to seek appropriations for two purposes which are in a sense in conflict.

The other two aspects brought out in the *Economist* article need not detain us at this point in the argument. It is perfectly true that the pact ensures the liberation of western Europe from a Russian invasion rather than offers a sure guarantee against invasion : to that extent it is no real contribution to engendering a sense of security such as might loosen the communist grip, for instance, on at least a quarter of the population of France. (Hence the prompt assurances proffered by General Omar Bradley, U.S. Chief of Staff, on April 4 and the backing supplied by Mr. Royall, the Under-Secretary for

* *cf* an article by David Mitrany in the *Manchester Guardian* of March 26.

War, two days later.

And true is it, too, that this consummation of the " Fulton " policy might conceivably provoke the Soviet Union to that very transition from the ' cold ' to real war which it is the purpose of the pact to prevent. One's view on this will depend, obviously, on the coefficient of war-fears in a particular country or on one's belief that Marshal Stalin and his coadjutors are determined on waging a war in the military sense. In the opinion of the present writer that is to misconceive the nature of the Russian challenge and the mood of " the scared men in the Kremlin " ; but to the fear-ridden masses of the European continent and to volatile Americans the threat may seem a very real one.

I am concerned here, however, much more with the shape of the pact as a political portent. Article 4 states that the Parties

> will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity and political independence or security of any of the Parties is threatened.

Admirable—but, like the similar provision of the Brussels Treaty, it underlines the fact that we have here yet another diplomatic engagement designed to operate wholly within the context of national sovereignty ; prescribing just such consultation among interested parties as would in any case take place through the ordinary processes of diplomacy. To the very pertinent question whether this Article would automatically apply to the case of an internal *coup d'état* staged by the communists (as in Czechoslovakia, for example) Mr. Dean Acheson has replied that, as he sees it, intervention under the Atlantic Pact would only operate in the case of a rebellion directed, controlled and supplied from abroad (that is, the Soviet Union). This is the wisdom of the chanceries with a vengeance—and, clearly, it leaves any number of loop-holes. As for the operative Article 5, placed under the aegis of Article 51 of the U.N. Charter (affirming the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence), this attribution may or may not disqualify the Treaty for the title of a " regional arrangement ", as the Soviet Notes of protest petulantly assert : what is certain is that the Article specifically leaves it for each country to decide when or whether it considers itself to be under a threat of an armed attack, and also each country retains discretionary powers on the kind of action it will take. It scarcely needed the flurry in the middle of February, following the statements by Senator Connally, for students of American politics to appreciate that Congress would insist on this degree of freedom of action. Nothing else was possible, in view of the U.S. Constitution, the Tablets of the Law. But what it means to a Frenchman, for example, thinking in terms of an *automatic* pledge has been starkly brought out in recent articles in *Le Monde* by M. Etienne Gilson of the French Academy. For his warning to his fellow-countrymen to put not their trust in

the American Senate, after the experience of 1919-1920, he is able, as it happens, to invoke the *ipsissima verba* of James Reston, the able correspondent of the *New York Times*, who is believed to be the mouthpiece of Senator Vandenberg. In an article on March 20, Mr. Reston suggests that Mr. Acheson's task is not only to get the consent of the Senate to ratification of the Treaty but "what is equally important (to get) the understanding and support of the American people." He can achieve an impressive majority in the Senate it is true, by minimizing the extent of America's obligation to fight if there should be an all-out armed attack on western Europe and by stating or implying that the pact does not in fact involve a commitment to furnish United States military equipment to other signatories of the pact. (On April 8 the U.S. Government did in fact announce that plans for the supply of such arms and equipment were going ahead.) And since " the treaty contains both a solemn principle and the means of evading that principle " its value will ultimately depend on " whether the American people fully understand and accept the principle of treating an armed attack on any of these nations as an attack on themselves." The danger Mr. Reston sees is that, as in the case of the Vandenberg Resolution, the pact will be ratified by the Senate without over-much debate on the ground that all constitutional perogatives have been protected, while the necessary educational spadework is neglected. There is, then, in his view, an important public relations job to be done by the State Department.

It seems necessary to utter this warning note that, while the leadership demonstrated at the top deserves the highest praise, Americans are still in a mood to make a fetish of national independence.* Was it not because of an intense awareness of this dogma, this cult of sovereignty practised by the Senate in the name of the people, that President Roosevelt, in 1945, was so insistent on the United Nations being, like the League, no effective supernational authority but an assemblage of almighty sovereign States. As we are reminded by Lord Cecil's recently published autobiography,† it was on this issue that the hopes of 1919 foundered. The U.S. refused to come into the League, and this even though the Covenant was actually a document explicitly respecting each State's political 'free will' and implying no more than the enforcement of its *moral* duty to stop aggression—what Mr. Balfour cruelly called " a lath painted to look like iron." The same must be said of the present North Atlantic Treaty. In neither case, *pace* Mr. Clement Davies, is there even the shadow of " world government ". It is really a case of political democracy being incompatible by its very nature with such an effective integration of

* There is a certain unconscious irony in the fact that the Americans all the time preach to Europe the virtues of federal union.

† *All the Way*, by Viscount Cecil. Hodder & Stoughton. 21s.

military and economic power as is demanded by contemporary global strategy—and our own basic human needs. Here is the great dilemma : how are we in this generation to break the circle, to move, in Henri Bergson's image, from the closed to the open society ?

As I have indicated in two previous articles* the Governments of the three great powers were all equally convinced at the time of the San Francisco Conference that the new areopagus must be reared on the foundations of sovereign equality and the rule of unanimity, and Mr. Bevin has made it clear that he still jibs at any form of permanent organic union, in Europe, which should take decisions out of British hands. (Throughout the Brussels organization at all levels decisions can only be taken by common consent.) What I am saying is that all the achievement of the Governments up to date, including the Atlantic alliance, does not, of itself, solve the fundamental problem of our time : to make democracy safe for the world. President Truman, at the ceremony of signature, made the right point when he described the Treaty as " a bulwark which permits us to get on with the real business of government and society, the business of achieving a fuller and happier life for our citizens." Let me, then, at this point take a look at the state of the house which is being built underneath the roof of security. And here the responsibility rests emphatically upon us in Europe with our more mature political experience—and a real urgency to cross the Rubicon of national sovereignty.

Thanks largely to Mr. Bevin's ' Western Union ' initiative, which bore fruit in the Brussels Treaty organization and the concerted plans of economic co-operation, the goal of European unity is at last coming into sight. Europe is rising from the ashes of the years. As Sir Harold Butler affirmed in his FORTNIGHTLY article last month, the progress during a twelve-month has been nothing short of remarkable. Nevertheless, it is only realistic to recognize that the advance made is solely on the plane of Governmental co-ordination ; and we are no nearer anything than can properly be termed European—or indeed Western-*Union*, any European authority with real executive powers. Not only that : the exchanges of opinion leading up to the approval by the Consultative Council of the Brussels Powers of the Council of Europe, now coming into being, have revealed a divergence which goes deep between the insular British and the French (or, better, Continental) view of what is the indispensable minimum of political construction.

The British Government's resistance to the conception of a European Assembly, the common aim of all organizations and persons active in the cause of European unity, springs partly at any rate from insular prejudice, partly also from a failure to realize that the relations

* THE FORTNIGHTLY, January 1947, " World Mirage." May 1948, " Western Lights."

of executive and Parliament, in France and elsewhere on the Continent, are not just what they are in this country. Happily, Mr. Bevin, after digging his toes in and blocking, in the true tradition of a trade union boss, was in the end persuaded that the committee headed by Mr. Dalton which had been negotiating on the matter in Paris had done the right thing in proposing an organization combining such a consultative assembly with the British Government's proposal for a committee of Ministers. But our behaviour has left behind on the Continent a trail of mistrust, and the Foreign Office, in working out the details, appears obsessed by precedents and practice from the United Nations organization which should have nothing to do with this novel, part non-Governmental body, the Council of Europe.

There is a strong case, of course, for the functionalist approach as against the loose talk still current about 'federation' of Europe. Federation is an eighteenth century remedy inapplicable to the particular circumstances of Europe to-day—and in any case patently impracticable. But this gradualism has also its dangers*, not least the fact that it plays into the hands of the professionals, politicans or bureaucrats†, who are least of all people disposed to surrender the keys of sovereignty. Replying to a number of speakers in a recent series of broadcasts on Western Union, who had demonstrated the immense difficulties that are bound to arise in attempting the fusion of the elaborately-contrived national economies of Europe, M. Claude Bourdet, the French speaker, aptly observed that from the self-same premises it was possible to draw an entirely opposite conclusion. Thus, he said :

> National governments and civil services, which have been, one might say, actually built upon national prejudices, and are powerfully influenced by various national professional interests, are practically helpless when it comes to breaking down the barriers which keep nations apart. Even if they consider the idea of unification with a friendly eye, they lack the spirit of enthusiasm one would need to cut the innumerable fetters set by centuries of national routine.

And worthy of respect, surely, in this connection is the verdict of Lord Cecil, writing on August 19, 1918, to Sir William Wiseman, the

---

* *cf.* also *World Revolution in the Cause of Peace*, by Lionel Curtis. Blackwell. 7s. 6d.

† When the operating machinery of O.E.E.C. was under discussion in the spring of 1948 the British Government saw to it that power should remain vested in the national delegations. They took the pragmatic view that the arrangements for economic planning should not be placed under a body possessing international executive authority but must leave responsibility where, at the present stage of development, it belongs—to the Governments of the individual States answerable through Parliament to their respective publics. Thus, the British Four-Year recovery plan, at the end of 1948, was elaborated in the fastnesses of the Treasury, so it seemed, without much consideration for the other economies of western Europe. This austerity model, commendable enough in isolation, was naturally received on the Continent with dismay and heightened suspicion, and it was necessary hastily to administer first-aid to Anglo-French relations, while the Government at last responded to the despairing appeals of M. Spaak and other O.E.E.C. colleagues for a greater measure of consultation (and authority) on the Ministerial level. This particular difficulty has been met, for the time being, by the institution of the Committee of Eight or Consultative Group, meeting regularly to give guidance to the Council of the Sixteen. But the whole episode was an object-lesson in the limitations of mere co-ordination, of juxtaposition of national economic policies.

unofficial British representative in the U.S.A. on the difficulties likely to be put in the way of establishing the League of Nations :

> . . . If I venture to insist on the strength of the bureaucracies in Europe, it is because no one who has not actually seen them at work can form any idea of their resisting power. They are very able and honourable, but they are past masters in the art of obstruction and resistance.

If federalism is impossible and irrelevant, and the present co-ordination on the Governmental level through regular conclaves of Ministers not enough, where then shall we find salvation ? How shall we bypass the sovereignty obstacle (for it is certain that we shall get nowhere by any frontal attack) ? The present writer does not pretend to know the answer. But he sees the best hope—contrary to the prevailing British opinion—in the ' Continental ' idea of a European Consultative Assembly. Here at last there will be (unless the Labour Government, through jealousy of Mr. Churchill, puts a spanner in the works) a departure from the normal practice of international conferences, where the delegates are official stooges, exponents of the national point of view. Here at last, if the organization of the Council of Europe develops as it should, despite the swaddling clothes in which our Government is doing its best to smother it in infancy, will there be an opportunity for interesting fresh alignments, for men and women of all the countries represented to escape from the trammels of nationalism and to ' speak European '. Mr. Churchill, who on this whole matter of closer union in Europe, has yet to put a foot wrong, remarked in his speech at the United Europe Exhibition in London on November 17 last :

> The Assembly would perform an essential task and one which could not be performed by Governments, the task of creating a European public opinion and a sense of solidarity among the peoples of Europe that might lead them to look to the future. . . .

Let it be granted that the necessary passionate faith in Europeanism does not yet exist and that we are compelled, for the present, to rely mainly on the slow work of Governments, their hands tied by State sovereignty. Mr. Bevin, who has the root of the matter in him, may well say one day : " After me cometh a builder . . ." Meanwhile we must make the most of the *Pax Americana*, with all that it implies, and, by way of further education, Señor de Madariaga might be begged to give us that Second Epistle to the Americans which he never wrote *, it being clearly understood that ' Americans ' in this context are not just the dwellers in the Western Hemisphere but all those men and women of our day who are fully conscious in their minds of the physical fact of the interdependence of nations decreed by science, the solidarity of things, but find it hard to part with their cosy insularities.

---

* *cf I. Americans*, 1930.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA NOW

By A Czechoslovak Correspondent

ON the first anniversary of the communist putsch in Czechoslovakia, there was established in Washington the Council of Free Czechoslovakia. Its setting up was not reported in the British press but it is of some interest because the Council is the first united organization of any emigration from behind the Iron Curtain. It includes political parties which used to be members of the communist inspired National Front, prominent individuals and, as a link with the pre-Munich days, representatives of the then biggest Czechoslovak party, the Republicans, better known as the Agrarians, who led almost all Czechoslovak Governments between the wars but were not allowed to renew their activities after the war.

The Council of Free Czechoslovakia is the hope of most Czechs and Slovaks living an uneasy life at home and the voice of the 17,000-20,000 Czechoslovak refugees scattered mostly in camps all over western Germany. Their numbers increase every day although the frontiers are heavily guarded and the weather is not always suitable for crossing the vast mountain woods of the Böhmerwald. During the winter about ten people came to Bavaria or Austria every night but in March there were already 30 a day and the coming months will probably see as many as there were last summer and autumn.

The fluctuation of the refugees from one camp to another makes any reliable statistics impossible. Nevertheless, it seems that the bulk of them no longer consists of the intelligentsia but of farmers, traders and, what must be depressing for the communist planners of Czechoslovakia, of relatively young and skilled workers. Few of them escape from the urgent terror of impending arrest or a direction to a labour camp. Terror certainly is one of the ingredients of the totalitarian cake but you would not find it in everybody's slice. What makes life repugnant is the fear that one day you may find it in your slice. Those who have high ideals or weak nerves cannot stand the atmosphere for long and run away even if they are in no danger.

Others who are lucky enough to travel abroad as members of trading missions, sports teams and various delegations sometimes use the opportunity of being out of the country and do not return home. The number who do not return from abroad gets, of course, n aller every d ay for only the reliable are allowed to leave the

country. This explains why the depleted ranks of Czechoslovak diplomats abroad are filled so slowly. It is estimated that 75 per cent. of them have resigned their posts since the putsch. Out of 14 diplomats who were in London in February 1948 only five remain ; three have been recalled and six have resigned.

The constant escapes led the Czechoslovak Government last summer to introduce emigration passports for people who commit themselves never to return. There are no statistics to show how many people have asked for them or how many have been granted. It is known, however, that an emigration passport costs a lot of money and does not necessarily include the right of taking more than clothing and bed linen.

Both legal and illegal emigrants confess that they tremendously enjoy the feeling of personal security abroad. The Czechoslovak régime is like every communist régime : tough. Last spring it was not satisfied with the results of widespread purges and, therefore, it revised all cases of real or alleged wartime collaboration with the Germans. The revisions added dozens of executions and several hundreds of years of imprisonment to the previous sentences. The people's courts that tried the collaborators had proved helpful and last year's judicial reform made them permanent under the name of State courts. The lay element, duly educated in Marx-Lenin-Stalinism is fully represented. They try all cases under the new law for the defence of the Republic ; it is much more severe than that of 1923 which is said to have protected only the *bourgeois* liberalism of the first Republic. It makes it an offence even to bring Ministers into disrepute. One of the painful sequels of convictions in State courts is that the families of the defendants are evicted by the local authority from their flats.

The newly appointed labour camps are much feared in Czechoslovakia. People are sent to them for " re-education " by a special commission of the Ministry of the Interior. The reasons for the need for re-education are various, from making fun of the KSC (Communist Party of Czechoslovakia) to cheering Yugoslav sportsmen in a Sokol procession, or to black marketeering. The inmates of the labour camps seldom know how long they will be detained until they are summoned to the camp commander's office and told that they should be " re-educated " by now. They work in woods and stone-pits for 10-12 hours a day, live in overcrowded barracks and get mostly soup, bread and potatoes for their meals. Most of them are workers, peasants, students and clerks.

Besides State courts and labour camps, which threaten everybody, every class and profession have their own troubles. Civil servants are met after several purges with two new calamities. The first is their political education which has been found insufficient and must be

improved quickly and unconditionally. All Ministries organize special classes of Marx-Lenin-Stalinism and those who do not pass the examinations cannot stay in the civil service. The other calamity is the decision that 65,000 civil servants must go into productive work. It is obvious that nobody wants to leave the job he has studied for and, after ten or twenty years of an administrative career, earn his living as an unskilled worker. With few exceptions everybody tries dodging, swindling and camouflaging in order to retain his job. Open opposition is madness ; if you are sacked from the Ministry and do not take the job you are directed to, you become a " work shunning element " which means that you do not get any rations and run the danger of being evicted from your flat and directed to a labour camp.

As to the number of purges only the army can compete with the civil service. The last wave of arrests in the army came just at Christmas when many officers had already been expelled. Almost all who served in Great Britain during the war are out. Many reserve officers were deprived of their rank by a special law because of their unreliability. " Progress " took another step forward when the Soviet rank of *starshina* (sergeant major) was introduced into the Czechoslovak army. The political or " enlightenment " officers' influence grows constantly and it pays to be on good terms with them. Only few officers are successful in retiring from active service before reaching the age limit without arousing unwelcome suspicions. Others keep their mouths shut, enrol, if necessary, as KSC members and try their best not to deprive their families of a living. That does not, of course, increase the efficiency or the reliability of the army. In the 12 months of the communist régime its strength has fallen by some 40,000 to about 110,000 men. The police force, predominantly communist even before the February putsch which it carried out, has been strengthened from 20,000 to 60,000 men.

The most unreliable elements are, or rather were, the students. It will be remembered that during the putsch only students showed opposition to the political changes by mass demonstrations. Their procession, marching towards Prague Castle, the official residence of Czechoslovak Presidents, was halted only by gun fire. After the putsch their leaders were arrested, the known anti-communists expelled from universities and the rest purged and re-educated. They were tested in severe examinations in Marx-Lenin-Stalinism, an obligatory subject at every faculty, and in State reliability. The results did not seem satisfactory because more than 6,000 students have been told to give up further studies. Their efforts to find a suitable job and so to avoid direction to agriculture or the mines are reflected in the advertisement columns of the Czechoslovak press. " Un. stud. speaks Russ., Eng., French, Germ. sks job. Diligent."

One can imagine the atmosphere in which the others learn.

The place of the expelled students is to be taken over—with the exception of medical faculties, fortunately—by workers. Talented people of both sexes and of every age who have worked in factories up to now are given an opportunity of learning and passing examinations for academic degrees. This basically sound idea is, however, discreditied by the way in which the candidates are chosen and prepared for the university. First of all, they have to be recommended by the communist unions of their factories. Secondly, within eight months they must master the whole curriculum of an eight-year secondary school. Even if much of it is left out they have to be geniuses if they grasp more than the terminology and some superficial knowledge in every subject. Nevertheless they will be accepted to the universities and within four years' time they will become school masters, qualified engineers, veterinary surgeons, chemical research workers, etc.

The other method of raising workers' self-confidence is the decision to make them judges. While about 800 workers were picked out for university studies the number of the would-be judges is so much lower—only 80—that they cannot be competent substitutes for the abolished juries. They also are given eight months in classes where they have to learn what formerly judges used to study for seven years. But the legal knowledge is far less important than the political outlook of the people's judges who will man the State courts.

With those two exceptions the workers' paradise of Czechoslovakia is no paradise at all although the country is formally ruled in their name. The difference from the pre-Munich days is that private capitalism has been replaced by State capitalism. The masters are new, the methods the same. And the masters are not watched but helped by the trade unions and the press in their carrying out of the old methods. The worker has not only to work more but also to report fellow workers who do not want to do the same. Should he not report them he is accused of " false solidarity ". He has had to give up the five-day week because, unlike the eight-hour day, it has never been an aim of Czechoslovak trade unionism. In his work he must try to raise his output, lower his time and/or save the services of one or two men (what is called "unveiling hidden labour reserves") in his gang. The example of what should be done is given by the so-called " shock groups " under which name Stakhanovist " competition " is introduced into Czechoslovak factories and mines. On Sundays the worker is expected to give a hand to the farmers either in the fields or, in winter, in their yards where he repairs their machinery. He must be *au courant* with politics, attend various meetings organized by the factory cell of the KSC, by its local branch or by shop stewards, and from time to time work night shifts against which not even women are protected. Those who have children

can put them in the special night nurseries provided in some localities.

For greater efforts the workers are rewarded by better holidays in the famous spas and mountain resorts. Unfortunately the capacity of these places is limited, and they can take only a small part of the working population. Better holidays are very important as their length is substantially cut. The standard holiday is a fortnight a year while before the putsch it was at least three weeks and in some trades even more. Now sick leave is regarded as part of the annual holiday. If the holidays were as long as they used to be it would mean, the trade unions maintain, a loss of production worth £3,500,000 which the new State cannot afford.

It seems that nobody, workers not excepted, can afford as much as before. Wages have been cut because they represent a too large share in the production costs. The cut was carried out by extending the hours, doing away with all extra pay and raising the prices. Although the workers get all rations they are the principal customers on the " free " market because even their comparatively high rations are inadequate. The goods on the " free " market are much more plentiful but from five to twenty times dearer. One lb. of tea costs £4 10s., a shirt £13 5s., a yard of overcoat material £27 14s. 6d.

The need for the " free " market is justified on two scores : it is an incentive to the workers to work and earn more and a source of badly needed State income. When it was introduced, the explanation was different. It was said then that the " free " market had to deprive the " rich " of their money and some papers explicitly stated that the working population would not need to buy on the " free " market because they would get everything on coupons and dockets.

Now, it is difficult to say who is rich and who is not. In Czechoslovakia this question, however, is answered very quickly : " rich " is everybody who does not live on wages, salary or pension (whatever he may get) or who owns more than 37 acres of land. This definition of " rich " includes charladies (unless they work 40 hours a week), free professions, tobacconists, nuns, greengrocers, etc. and has the practical but unpleasant meaning that all those included have been refused clothing books so that they can buy textiles and shoes only on the " free " market. This step was so harsh that the Government hurriedly announced that later the " free " prices will be lower and added the accusation that, anyway, the shopkeepers had made nice profits in the last years.

The drive against the " rich " is not limited to the non-issuing of clothing books. Lawyers are deprived of their independence and become employees of district lawyers' unions which direct to them cases to defend. Doctors are asked to settle in country areas and are warned against encouraging absenteeism by confirming sickness

in doubtful cases. And a new general tax makes a difference between the private enterprise and various co-operative shops so that many shopkeepers despair about their future and apply for inclusion in the new co-operatives.

Co-operatives are, of course, the principal weapon against the landowners and the " rich " peasants. It will be remembered that ownership of land in Czechoslovakia is limited to 123 acres. Nevertheless the Government still speaks about " rich " peasants. These are those who have more than 37 acres and who are being slowly but efficiently liquidated, through the general tax which increases their financial burden, through the delivery system which requires more milk, grain and cattle from them, and through various Ministerial orders which, for example, force them to keep their agricultural machinery in good order and to lend it without any charge to the poorer peasants. The agricultural policy tries to arouse and use hatred against them. All communist leaders from the President downwards persuade the less-than-37-acres farmer that he must fight his wealthier neighbour and make him deliver relatively more according to the ingenious delivery system. If two peasants have two cows but one owns less than 37 acres and the other more than that, the latter has to deliver more milk than the former. Not because his cows give more milk but because he has more land and the Government wants him to pass from relatively profitable grain growing to less profitable cattle breeding. If this development continues for some years it will gradually destroy every " rich " peasant (the 37 acres peasants' turn will come later) and force him to hand his farm to the local co-operative. There were instances of solidarity between both groups but district offices of the Ministry of Agriculture or local branches of the KSC crushed all of them.

Communism in practice undramatically means rather oppression than terror. It threatens everybody and its methods are cleverly thought out. First of all, any open opposition is ruthlessly broken. Rumours about arrests, prisons and labour camps seem to be allowed to spread so that people get frightened. Then reliability (no word is used under the new régime more often) is checked and those found unreliable are dismissed from their jobs. That creates an atmopshere of economic uncertainty which emphasizes the lack of personal security. From time to time someone cannot stand it any longer, raises his voice or his fist, gets arrested and through his despair and punishment discourages the others. Gradually all become a flock of obliging production numbers. Most of them still disagree with the régime but, at the same time, they lose the courage to resist it. Do not forget that they were in it once before already, under the Germans. Now as then they lack the means of physical resistance. The change can come only from without. That is why so many expect so much from the Council of Free Czechoslovakia.

ITALIAN UNION AIMS

By Riccardo Luzzatto

ON his way to Washington, for the signature of the Atlantic Pact, Count Carlo Sforza, the Italian Foreign Minister, together with Robert Schuman, his French colleague, signed in Paris the final agreement on customs union between the two countries. That union is regarded as a first step towards a close political union and a preliminary condition for European unification. European unification cannot of course be confined to western Europe and will have to aim at bridging the gulf with the rest of the continent, otherwise it will be merely an unnecessary addition to existing treaties. The inevitable inclusion of Germany, whatever may be her future structure, will be only acceptable when Franco-Italian union has become a reality. In spite of the undeniable good will of some Germans, there can be no doubt that the Nazi mentality is deeply rooted in wide sections of the German and Austrian population. German reconstruction, which cannot be indefinitely delayed, harbours considerable dangers for the other European nations. A solid Franco-Italian union, if possible as close as the union between Austria and Hungary before 1918, would offer to them and to the rest of Europe a far better protection than any friendship treaty or, for that matter, any statute of a federation.

It was perhaps wise to proceed towards that union by tackling first the economic problems, although they appear difficult and seem to be causes of delay when rapid progress is most desirable. For, at first sight, the customs union seems to offer few advantages. In some, otherwise favourable circles, it is pointed out that the union is justified only by political reasons. This opinion, however, is entirely mistaken. It is true that the two economies are on the whole not complementary. But even in private economy horizontal trusts are generally more advantageous than vertical ones. Applied to relations among States, a union between countries with a complementary autonomy, comparable to a vertical trust, is likely to create blocks tending towards some form of autarchy and is therefore decidedly damaging to economic unification on continental or world scale.

The Franco-Italian union would in many respects be comparable to a horizontal trust, particularly if some day it should be extended

towards Spain and Portugal, when those countries have become democratic. By strengthening their position in international trade conversations a number of the main products of these countries, as for instance, silk, wine, fruit, vegetables, olive oil and cheese would benefit. The advantages for industries arising out of standardization and concentration are obvious, as are those of a common network of hydro-electric power. Italian manpower will be useful to the French. In that respect, the fairly strong opposition of the C.G.T., the communist-dominated French T.U.C., is due to a tendency to oppose union west of the " curtain ", rather than to a genuine fear of a reduction in the standard of living of the French workers. In fact, the customs union scheduled to come into force within one year and to be followed within five years by a complete economic union (including uniform social and financial legislation) will have quite the opposite effect. After slight temporary setbacks in some branches of activity, it will lead towards more rational, more profitable and increased production and raise the living standard of the population, particularly of the working classes of the two countries.

It would be absurd to compare that union aim with the dreams of a " Latin Union " with an imperialistic background as cherished in the Mussolini-Laval period. Even united, France and Italy could by no means compete with the really big powers and, at best, they could gain a very limited measure of independence.

A certain parallelism of size and background and the great natural affinity between the two peoples add considerable strength to the arguments for union. The history of France and Italy shows a long chain of sometimes very bloody differences, which might be traced as far back as the campaign of Pepin, Charlemagne's father, or even to Caesar's conquest. But not only were the wars conducted mostly in support of one Italian faction against another, they were actually only short interruptions of the closest political and economic relations and of an almost unmatched cultural exchange. Many great men of the one country played a considerable part in the life of the other—like Robert Guiscard, the Francias, Mazarin, Buonarotti, Napoleon, Cavour, Gambetta, Zola and others. At present about one million Italians are living in France, where they are assimilated more quickly than anywhere else and a considerable part of the French population is, to some extent, of Italian extraction. All this does not prevent psychological frictions and misunderstandings between the populations, as there frequently are among relatives. With the good will now existing among all political parties on both sides, they will soon be overcome.

Another economic *rapprochment* which, although of lesser importance, could still contribute notably towards economic rehabilitation of the continent would be more difficult. Over two years ago, during

the conference on the Italian Peace treaty, Mr. Ernest Bevin suggested a customs union between Italy and Austria. The idea was reasonable enough and had actually been considered many years ago. Austria can in fact hardly stand entirely alone. Economically if not politically there are only three possibilities for the Austrian Republic, as it became in 1918 after the desintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy: close links with the neighbouring Danubian States, union with Germany, or close links with Italy.

The first two possibilities are at present impracticable—as they were before 1938. This leaves only the third, which in fact had been chosen in 1934 by Mussolini and Dollfuss when, jointly with Horthy's Hungary, they concluded the " pact of Rome ". The fact that an international agreement was concluded by three outspoken fascists does not necessarily tell against it. Some enforced lines of international policy must be followed whatever party is in power—and certain aspects of Russian foreign policy following the geographic necessities of the Soviet peoples, are one more proof of this.

In spite of that and in spite of the fact that the Austrian majority party, the *Volkspartei*, maintains particularly cordial relations with its opposite number in Italy, the Christian democrats, and with the Vatican, the customs union did not make much headway. The official reason given is the stern opposition of the Soviet Government which naturally dislikes any closer linking between Austria and any other western country. Although generally opposed to everything coming from Soviet quarters, many Austrians seem in this case not too unhappy about the Soviet veto. The reason for that is not so much a traditional animosity dating from the times when large sections of Italy formed a rebellious part of the Austrian Empire, but rather in their expectation of being sooner or later re-united with Germany. Economically that union is by no means more reasonable than that with Italy—but " blood is thicker than water " and nationalistic feeling is still very strong. Intensification of commercial relations with Italy is, however, greatly desired and furthered, particularly in the border province of Carinthia, which draws a considerable profit from wood export to Italy, as well as from Italian tourist traffic.

In Italy the idea of closer economic ties would find favourable reception. Austrian wood, iron ore and lately oil, once it is free, will find an easy market in Italy, where an increased Austrian market would mean some slight relief to Italian exporters of fruit and vegetables, motor cars, typewriters, silk, textiles and chemicals. Furthermore, a union would facilitate the hydro-electric pool of all alpine power, also suggested by Mr. Bevin.

Among a union's further advantages would be an improvement in the almost desperate situation of Trieste. This thoroughly Italian

port lives mainly on Austrian traffic and would gain not so much through the loosening of barriers, because Austria has been given all possible facilities anyway, as through the increase in Austrian overseas trade which would inevitably follow a customs union. At present Trieste, created a " free territory " in the peace treaty, and supposed to be returned to Italy according to a joint declaration of the three western Allies, is being subsidized by Italy at a rate of over £20,000,000 a year, a very considerable expenditure for an impoverished country like Italy.

The economic conditions of Austria are steadily improving. Beside her own efforts, E.R.P. has been particularly effective there. It is natural that its effects are more strongly felt in a small country and in a limited economy. This contributes to a certain extent to the comparative coolness toward the idea of a customs union.

Although in that respect she is not so cool, this applies also in some ways to Italy. Her problems are certainly heavier, particularly her rapidly increasing over-population for which no immediate remedy can be found. Still, both countries are living in a kind of fool's paradise. Italy in particular, by her incapacity to apply even to a lesser extent that austerity which leads Britain to a rapid recovery and makes her an example to the whole world, will find herself faced with gruesome problems once E.R.P. assistance ends.

More than any other country in Europe, Italy needs trade with the east. E.R.P. can partly fill the gap in her balance of payments; it cannot supply her with markets which alone can provide work for her ever growing number of hands. Owing to present conditions, trade with eastern Europe is greatly reduced, much as it might be needed on the other side also. Yugoslavia, by nature one of Italy's most important trading partners, seems to offer the greatest prospects. But while her temporary separation from the Soviet orbit ought to facilitate trade, by relieving her from the export restrictions arising out of E.R.P. agreements, political as well as economic conditions seem so precarious that no very considerable increase of trade can be expected.

Yugoslavia is indeed one of the world's great puzzles. While nobody doubts Marshal Tito's hold on the police force and on the greater part of the army, it is well open to doubt whether he can count upon most of the population, which is suffering from almost unbearable economic conditions and from the harshest police régime of all eastern countries. The traditional pro-Russian feeling of most Yugoslavs and anyway of those sections of the population upon whose support his régime was built makes his position extremely vulnerable. Nevertheless an extensive trade agreement is likely to be concluded. But to bring a decisive relief to the economy of Italy and of other western European countries trade with the whole of

eastern Europe would have to be greatly increased. While E.R.P. makes it possible for European economy to overcome the worst difficulties of post-war years, only full trade with the east can put it finally on a sound basis and make it fit for a larger economic and, eventually, political union. This is hardly likely to happen unless some sort of understanding between the Soviet Union, the U.S.A. and Britain is reached.

The world hopes ardently for such an understanding. It may come sooner than expected. Until then, however, regional unions form certainly the most concrete contribution towards continental and world unification. So far as the European continent is concerned, the most important of those unions is unquestionably that between France and Italy, with all its possible extensions. Its aim is intensification of trade with other economic units, particularly with Britain and her Commonwealth and with Benelux, who too will benefit implicitly by the wide area of economic improvement. Further aims are closer political and cultural relations with other countries or groups, which ought to pave the way for a wider union.

Franco-Italian unity is vitally necessary for the pacification of our unfortunate continent. It can become a major contribution towards the great aim which should lead all men beyond national and continental unions : the union of the world.

(*Dr. Luzzatto is an Italian journalist living in Rome.*)

THE RUSSIAN ATTACK ON REASON

By John Langdon-Davies

ON August 26, 1948, the Praesidium of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences passed a resolution " concerning the present position and the future tasks of biological science at the various institutes of the academy." This act closed down all the laboratories and other scientific establishments where the science of genetics had been taught ; pronounced the accumulated body of knowledge associated throughout the world with the names of Weismann, Mendel and Morgan to be at odds with the State Philosophy of Dialectical Materialism, and its teaching unpatriotic and counter-revolutionary ; and gave instructions that only the teachings associated with the names of two Russian plant-breeders, Michurin and Lysenko, should be taught in the universities or described in text-books and contributions to biological journals. A further consequence is the dismissal of a number of internationally famous scientists who go out into the unmapped darkness in which several of their colleagues, including Vavilov, Levit and Abol have already disappeared.

This action has of course been hailed with enthusiasm by communists throughout the world, and has been justified and applauded in the columns of the *Daily Worker* whose editorial board chairman is an animal geneticist, Professor J. B. S. Haldane. In 1932 he wrote of the relationship between science and politics in Russia as follows : " Now I am not going for one moment to suggest that there is not a very grave danger for science in so close an association with the State. It may possibly be that, as a result of that association science in Russia will undergo somewhat the same fate as overtook Christianity after its association with the State in the time of Constantine. It is possible that it may lead to dogmatism in science and to the suppression of opinions which run counter to official theories, but it has not yet done so."

Professor Haldane can claim even greater prescience than this. In his 1932 essay he goes on to state explicitly what he then imagined might happen in Russia : " The test of the devotion of the U.S.S.R. to science will, I think, come when the accumulation of the results of human genetics, demonstrating what I believe to be the fact of innate human inequality, becomes important."

As Professor H. J. Muller, the American Nobel Prizewinner, has

recently said, the first attack on genetics came when, in 1936, the Medicogenetical Institute was closed down after being violently attacked in *Pravda*. " The accusations alleged that the Institute had been attempting to exalt heredity as against environment, whereas everyone conversant with it knows that it had been entirely objective in its gathering of data but that, in its interpretations, it has been leaning as far as possible, if not even too far, in the environmentalist direction."

The Medicogenetical Institute had in fact been guilty of demonstrating the " inequality of man " and Professor Haldane's prophecy had come true. The attack on science in Russia had begun and the events of August 1948 were the final mopping-up operations in the field of genetics.

Its corrupting influence can be illustrated by one very simple example : on January 3, 1949, the British Communist Party's official " Educational Commentary on Current Affairs " issued by the *Daily Worker* in association with the Marx Memorial Library, was devoted to the Lysenko controversy. The controversy is summed up as follows : " The essential point of controversy between those who think like Lysenko, and the ' orthodox ' geneticists was : whether or not the hereditary nature of living organisms can be changed ; whether or not, man can alter existing species of animals or plants by his action, and whether he can succeed in producing new types of plants and animals better suited for his needs."

Now Professor Haldane knows that this is an entirely misleading statement of the nature of the controversy. As he read the rest of this " Educational Commentary ", surely he must have felt uneasy ! Knowing, as he does, the work which ' orthodox geneticists ' have done and are doing, he could not imagine H. J. Muller and S. C. Harland, to mention but two, saying : " I believe that man cannot alter existing species of animals or plants by his action. I believe that he cannot succeed in producing new types of plants and animals better suited for his needs "—Muller, who gained a Nobel Prize for showing mankind that mutations can be induced ; Harland, who has spent most of his life improving the cotton plant—both ' orthodox geneticists '.

The August Resolution was, of course, part of wider attacks—Mr. Burns, Chief of the Propaganda Department of the British Communist Party, calls them ' discussions '—which have forced Russian intellectuals working in many different fields to submit their minds, their labours, and even the results of their experiments, to a dogma imposed by a political body and enforced by secret police.

Fortunately, we have the help of Mr. Burns himself in our efforts to understand these incredible procedures. In an article in the *Modern Quarterly*, the stamping ground of British communist high-

brows, we have it all enthusiastically described. The article is called, prettily enough " The Soviet Discussions." It was written before the Lysenko crisis, but it explains and justifies the whole campaign of which that crisis was the crowning incident.

For two years, we are told, the principles of Marxism and their application to philosophy, economics, history, natural science, art, literature, music, architecture, philology and law, have been under critical discussion. This is based on the following reasoning : the Soviet people have urgent tasks before them in the material field ; these cannot be fulfilled except under the stimulus of new and appropriate ideas ; these ideas are partisan and at war with the ideas of moribund capitalism ; there can be no liberal toleration for the old ideas ; this is not only true in the political and economic field but equally in the aesthetic and philosophic fields including the scientific field.

It appears that the discussion in the field of philosophy began with violent criticism of a new Russian text-book on the " History of Western European Philosophy." This book seems to have treated philosophies neutrally and in historical order, whereas it ought, in the opinion of Zhdanov and the communist political leaders, to have recorded " the history of the struggle of materialism with idealism." From this developed an attack on a large number of Russian professors of philosophy. They lacked " militancy and fighting spirit ". Instead of " waging a determined offensive against hostile ideology abroad and against survivals of bourgeois ideology in the consciousness of the Soviet people " they had been " objective " and " contact has not been established with the enemy, there is no reconnaissance, the weapons are rusting."

Nothing could be clearer than this. In the field of philosophy, the communist leaders of Russia have decided to close down all free discussion as between one philosophy and another. They regard any philosopher who puts down objectively the arguments of other philosophers, even if he disagrees with them and says so, as a traitor. It is objectivity which is the crime.

The majority of Marxists, in this country at least, come upon dialectical materialism without any training whatever in philosophy as a mental discipline. The process which takes place in their minds is better described as conversion rather than conviction. The underlying emotional mood is not intellectual curiosity but anger, righteous or otherwise, against the society in which they live. In consequence, they never know that there are any other philosophies, except the pseudo-philosophic escapisms which they attribute, without examination, to any thoughtful person who has not been converted along with them.

Such a state of mind is medieval. It has nothing to do with the

free use of the intellect. It is content with a barbaric phase which others have left behind, thanks to the brave fight put up by believers in intellectual freedom during hundreds of years. The official communist policy is to return to this medievalism. And to safeguard it, all alternative ways of thinking must be rooted out of text-books and academic discussions.

Mr. Emile Burns takes us onto far more difficult ground when he tries to explain the " dialectical " basis of all these " discussions ". Zhdanov explained the necessity of these discussions by appealing to the basic concept of dialectical materialism that progress takes place through the struggle of opposites. In *bourgeois* society, the struggle is between opposed classes ; but those are done away with in socialist society. If the life-giving struggle is to be maintained it must shift its ground ; other opposites must be found to keep it going.

The solution is to be found in " criticism and self-criticism." " In a broad sense," explains Mr. Burns, " the whole of the ideological discussions which have been in progress in the Soviet Union can be taken as the conscious application of this new dialectical law in order to speed up development in every sphere." That sounds nice ; but where does it lead in practice ? Since you cannot have a class struggle between employers and employed, you must set the geneticists and the Michurinists at one another's throats, picket the biology labs. and beat up botanical blacklegs. Doubtless there is much to be said for a good wordy scrap on chromosomes as a moral equivalent for class war ; but if so, why not keep both sides alive ? What do you do for a vitalizing argument when you have outlawed and penalized one side out of existence ?

Is it quite certain that Lysenko and all the biologists who flopped down on their knees before Marshal Stalin, when they heard what the great man had decreed about genes, were arguing for the noble purpose of keeping social progress going ? Was there no personal jealousy, no personal ambition involved ? Does Mr. Burns really believe that the " discussions " are so highly motivated ?

Another " discussion "—a " most merciless battle," as Mr. Burns calls it—was in the field of art. There was, for example, the official cracking down on the poet, Akhmatova, because her poems were " mainly emphasising erotic love themes, interwoven with notes of sadness, yearning, death, mysticism and fatality." These poems the authorities announced could do young people nothing but harm—" they could only sow gloom, low spirits, pessimism, the desire to escape from the vital problems of social life." Communist propaganda chiefs are never very strong on psychology—except as a practical technique of course—but Mr. Burns and the Russian authorities seem here to be a little naïve.

> Since there's no help, come let us kiss and part . . . All's over, then : does truth sound bitter . . . Fair daffodils we weep to see . . . Farewell ! thou art too dear for my possessing . . .

Akhmatova mustn't sing like that even if she is able. It would be playing right into the hands of her class-enemies. " Had this spirit of despondency prevailed, we would not have won the war "—Mr. Burns quotes some speaker in the most merciless battle.

But, in fact, does it work this way ? Is it not possible that even under Marshal Stalin people are love-sick and addicted to the deplorable habit of enjoying a certain amount of " divinest Melancholy " ? Do they not get it *out of* their systems rather than get it *into* their systems by reading the Akhmatovas of their cultural heritage?

This unlimited extension of the James-Lange theory of the emotions is of course visible throughout the Russian scene : unveil a twenty-foot oleograph of the smiling Stalin and soon there's miles and miles of smiles. But the experts have spoken and it is not for us to criticize ; erotic love themes are undialectical and Akhmatova had better write marching songs or she'll have her stationery supply stopped.

What sort of literature is demanded as a result of this merciless discussion ? Socialist realism. Mr. Burns explains that socialist realism does not exclude romanticism provided that it is revolutionary romanticism. And what is that ? It is the description of " the life of a society advancing to Communism ", a life which " combines the most matter-of-fact practical work with the greatest heroism."

Poor old Dostoevsky and Turgenev and Tolstoi, Mr. Burns goes on to explain, were dreadfully handicapped as artists because they suffered from " the unavoidable limitations of a class society." On the other hand, Soviet writers can and must overcome these limitations and show " the masses, the people, as the makers of history. The individual here is not separated from the masses . . . he is the most complete expression of their life . . . Hence Socialist realism, though heir to all that is best in the realism of the past, is a higher realism, a new qualitative stage."

All this seems as much as to say that because Marshal Stalin is a greater man than Napoleon, *War and Peace* must be a less great work of art than a book about Marshal Stalin by a loyal Party member. Now that is a good enough topic for idle pot-house conversation, but imagine living in a society where the opposite point of view is not allowed !

Of course, just like all these other subjects of " discussion ", socialist realism must only state its case in a mood of continuing quarrelsomeness. Or as Mr. Burns puts it, it must be *partisan*. It is tiresome, this perpetual harping of all communists on the divine necessity of being constantly argumentative, quarrelsome, rude : of

having to try and go one better than Ilya Ehrenberg.

And so we pass to music, the one place where simple harmony is permitted, nay ordered. Here all that is old-fashioned and *bourgeois* is demanded by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party itself.

The Russian Communist Party dealt almost as mercilessly with the composers as they had done with poor erotic gloomy Akhmatova. There was Muradelli who wrote an opera full of " formalistic perversions." For those who are so reactionary as not to know what *bourgeois* musical formalistic perversions are, here is a list which Mr. Burns helpfully supplies : " Rejection of the fundamental principles of classical music, advocacy of atonality, dissonance and disharmony, allegedly expressing ' progress ' and ' new trends ' in the development of musical creation as melody : the fad for nonsensical, neuropathic combinations which transform music into cacophony, a chaotic maze of sound."

In fact, Marshal Stalin insists, and Mr. Burns whistles along with him, that in future Russia is to be a land of good tunes without a single accidental. Probably just as some Russian geneticists tried to weather the Lysenko storm by proving that genes were dialectical, some misguided composers tried to suggest that the resolution of discords was about as dialectical as anything could be. But that sort of argument is no good ; it is mere temporising with western decadence, with "survivals of bourgeois ideology not yet lived down, . . . fed by the influence of present-day, decadent West European and American music." In short—to hell and Siberia with jazz. Even Mr. Burns seems uneasy. " It should be noted," he says, " that what is condemned is not foreign music in general, but *decadent* music." To which one replies that there is no suggestion that any non-decadent western music exists.

The discussions on architecture make good reading, though for a reason that Mr. Burns does not consider worth mentioning. It would appear that the Soviet architects in recent years have been busy putting up " theoretically designed buildings, often contrary to the realistic demands of life." They have gone so far as to be guilty of the " screaming contradiction " of using " ancient architectural forms for the surface building of a Moscow Metro station." And this, we note, at the same time as monopoly-capitalism in the person of the L.P.T.B. was putting up highly functional underground stations like the steel drum and its contents beneath Piccadilly Circus. Something seems to have slipped. However, we decadents have not inadvertently discovered the whole formula of architectural righteousness : monopoly-capitalism showed its cloven hoof even here by decorating these underground stations with Epstein and Eric Gill statues, whereas, according to Mr. Burns, " aesthetic mannerisms,

such as intentional displacements of features, are equally strongly condemned."

Farcical as all this may seem, let us not forget the serious implications. In art, music, philosophy and science, the State reigns supreme in Russia. The Central Committee of the Communist Party regards itself as qualified to dictate the nature and subject matter of every human creation from a poem to a biological theory. It ruthlessly imposes economic sanctions on anyone who does not accept this tyranny. It denies the right of any individual to think or to feel as his reason and emotions prompt him.

All States and governments claim the right to limit thought and feeling when they find expression in acts which are deleterious to other people. What the Russian State now orders, as a result of these " discussions ", is that the whole process of artistic or scientific creation shall be subordinated to the good of the State, as determined by Politburo. In the field of science, this has reached a stage where a scientific theory, or even the concrete results of experiment, are condemned unless they conform to the dogmas upon which the ruling minority base their despotic power.

The positive aim, Mr. Burns frankly informs us, of all cultural activity, embracing science and art in all their forms, is to help forward society " *towards a higher stage, Communism.*" What he does not tell us is that by insisting on this as the sole aim of culture, the Soviet State has in practice destroyed the individual's right to be *truthful* whether to his own creative urge in art, or to scientific method in the pursuit of knowledge.

Scientific method, the objective use of reason, the obedience to facts and their logic, are things which have not been lightly gained for humanity. They appeal perhaps to a minority of human beings, but if any members of that minority treacherously betray them to the power-lustful forces of evil, it should not be easily forgiven them.

The thousands of young men and women growing up in an austere world to-day, preparing themselves to take a part in that world as " workers with brain " must realize what is at stake. The time has come to fight the intellectual darkness, the misuse of mind, the new obscurantism which supports so beastly a return to savagery as the Lysenko episode illustrates. We must not be deceived into supposing that the issue is some Bevin-Molotov piece of power politics, some knock-about turn between Kremlin and Wall Street. Russian Communism has declared against the liberty of the mind of man.

(A full discussion of the implications of the Lysenko controversy in Russia is the subject of Mr. Langdon-Davies's forthcoming book, " Russia Puts The Clock Back ", which will be published by Gollancz with an introduction by Sir Henry Dale, O.M., F.R.S., in the near future.)

CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHY

By W. R. Inge

WE hear complaints that both at Oxford and Cambridge philosophers are as sheep without a shepherd. At Oxford there is no one who speaks with the authority of Green and Bradley, no one at Cambridge who is venerated like Henry Sidgwick. But philosophy in England has never been professional, still less professorial. The Englishman is always on the side of the Gentlemen against the Players. His guides should be something else as well, amateurs not professionals. So most of our philosophy is unacademic, and most of our theology unclerical.

Of the young men a few go whoring after strange gods, topical positivism or dialectical materialism ; some read the Catholic Neo-Thomists ; a few, despairing of liberalism in theology as in politics, either join the Church of authority or seek support in the reactionary apologetics of Karl Barth. Other roads are open, which must be presently considered.

Two positive authorities, which in the last century spoke in menacing tones, have lost heavily in prestige—dogmatic materialism and materialistic dogmatism. Any stigma is good enough to beat a dogma. We may say politely that science is becoming religiously humble, and religion scientifically humble. Science has quite lost the cocksureness of its naïve realism. The world of values which is out of range of the quantitative sciences, no longer floats ineffectively above the real world of stars and atoms ; it is no longer a world of dreams as opposed to realities. Nor is science any longer sure of its own ground. Eddington and Jeans both assure us that if we do not believe in the law of entropy we are out of court as students of science. But Eddington sees that if the universe is running down like a clock, it must have been wound up at some date which we could name if we knew it, and this he cannot believe. So he coquets with Berkeleyan idealism. Jeans tells us that God is a mathematician. But what has a mathematical God to do with a one-way irreversible process ? Mathematics, the clearest and emptiest of disciplines, eliminates time and proves identity.

Materialistic dogmatism is in an equally bad case. Miracle may be, as Goethe says, faith's dearest child. It cannot any longer be supposed to be its parent.

The collapse of the authority of science has had the curious result of galvanizing into a kind of life a crop of superstitions. Even astrology has risen from its grave. A revival of witchcraft is clearly overdue. Would not any scientist fifty years ago have gasped at this passage from A. N. Whitehead ? (*Science and the Modern World*, page 256) " Galileo said that the earth moves and that the sun is fixed. The Inquisition said that the earth is fixed and that the sun moves. Newtonian astronomers said that both move. Now we say that any one of these statements is equally true. In itself Galileo's way was not more true than the other." And we have Aldous Huxley (*The Perennial Philosophy*, page 280) saying that those who pray not only " seem to acquire a knack of getting their petitions answered," but they " sometimes develop supernormal powers such as psychic healing and extra-sensory perception." He seems almost ready to believe that Home the medium flew out of a top-storey window, as several honourable men saw him do.

In this short article I shall consider two only among contemporary movements, which are not so widely different as at first sight they appear. The first is the increasing realization of the importance, both religious and metaphysical, of Eastern and especially of Indian thought. The second is the personalist group, in rather uneasy alliance with the school which has taken the absurd name of Existentialism.

The election of Radhakrishnan to the philosophical section of the British Academy was not only a well merited recognition of a great writer and thinker. It showed that our philosophers are now aware that in the quest of ultimate reality the West has something, perhaps much, to learn from the East.

The great periods of history are marked by the fusion of two national cultures. The Christian Church was a syncretism of the later Hellenism and the later Judaism. Modern civilization, says Radhakrishnan, is based on the three Greek ideals of rationalist philosophy, humanist ethics, and nationalist politics. State-worship, says Toynbee, was the spiritual disease that Hellenism died of. Will the same be said of us ? Hebraism contributed belief in a personal God, belief in time and history, and also particularism and exclusiveness. If those are right who think that a great chapter in human history is coming to an end, it is at least possible that another fusion of cultures may be necessary.

Western and Eastern thought, Radhakrishnan thinks, have both suffered severely by their isolation from each other. The West, with what Gerald Heard calls its brutal intolerance, has perhaps suffered most. So at least Aldous Huxley thinks : " There are many honourable exceptions, but the rule even among learned Protestants and Catholics is a certain blandly bumptious provincialism which

if it did not constitute a grave offence against charity and truth, would be just uproariously funny." Hinduism has been much more tolerant in its attitude to other faiths. " In the mystic traditions of the different religions," says the Indian philosopher, " we have a remarkable unity of spirit. Whatever religion they may profess, the mystics are spiritual kinsmen. As the religion of spirit, mysticism avoids the two extremes of dogmatic affirmation and dogmatic denial. All signs indicate that it is likely to be the religion of the future " (*Eastern Religions and Western Thought*, Preface). Our greatest English divine, William Law, says much the same : " There is a catholic spirit, a communion of saints in the love of God and all goodness, which no one can learn from that which is called orthodoxy in particular Churches."

The famous Sanskrit poem, the *Bhagavadgita*, is a religious poem which no doubt embodies a metaphysic, but gives no arguments in favour of its position, and perhaps is not logically consistent. But it is almost inspired literature for Indians, and it tries to reconcile some divergent teachings in the *Upanishads*, especially the concepts of absolutism and of theism. There are other differences which are not easily reconciled. Some Indian thinkers regard the world of time and place as illusory, and Brahma alone as real. Others realise that we have a life to live in the world, and that spirituality is not merely escapism. But Indian thought is fairly consistent against the concept of a changing, developing God, vitally implicated in the historical order. Prophetic Judaism and Christianity both affirm the changelessness of God ; the opposite view is mainly a modern heresy. Many Indian thinkers distinguish between the Absolute, who " dwelleth in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen or can see," and the immanent divine spirit with whom we are or may be in contact. Eckhart is insistent in distinguishing between the Godhead and God. The God of religion is not the Absolute.

The heart of Indian philosophy is the doctrine of the infinite self. The empirical ego is not the self. Our bodies are constantly changing, our thoughts come and go, but the self is never lost. It remains itself ; it is the one thing that abides unchanged through all the changes of the phenomenal world, through all the growth and decay of the bodily organism. In the words of the Gita, as translated by Sir Edwin Arnold,

> Never the spirit was born, the spirit shall cease to be never ;
> Never the time it was not ; end and beginning are dreams.
> Birthless and deathless and changeless the spirit abideth for ever ;
> Death cannot touch it at all, dead though the house of it seems.

The universal self, in our ordinary experience, is confused with the empirical self, which we objectify and call ourself, though it and the

world to which it belongs are only appearance (*maya*), not mere phantoms but illusion. Personal life must be purified and transformed as the transfigured ego grows into the true person. The true self is divine ; as St. Paul says, " I, yet not I, but Christ who liveth in me." We are to love our neighbours as ourselves, for our neighbours are ourselves. Religious dogmatisms and political dictatorships have no understanding of the deep identity of human beings. They intoxicate whole peoples with dreams of power and passions of hatred, till religion becomes an engine of division, intolerant and bitter. We are not to flee from the world that we know in expectation of a blessed future state. Eternal life is here and now, the life of the eternal part of us. We are amphibia, related partly to what is above us and partly to what is below us ; but our true self belongs to the eternal order, and we strive to escape from the historical succession denoted by birth and death. Neither we nor God are lost in the historical process. The illusion that we are separate monads, *solida pollentia simplicitate* as Lucretius says, isolates the individual and binds him to the false world of change and decay.

Radhakrishnan and other writers for English readers naturally present Hinduism at its best. Religions ought to be judged at their best, and it is at their best that they find their kinship with each other. But the danger which besets the *via negativa*, the progressive abandonment of the things of sense, is even more apparent in Hindu thought than in the cloistered mystics of Christianity. Some of the Indians abolish personality instead of spiritualizing it. In Nirvana the infinite is perilously near zero. The favourite maxim *Tat twam asi*, 'that art thou ', becomes almost absurd in Emerson's version of Eastern thought. Andrew Lang hardly parodied it when he wrote :

> I am the batsman and the bat ;
> I am the bowler and the ball,
> The umpire, the pavilion cat,
> The roller, pitch and stumps and all.

But at their best the Indians give us a spiritual religion based on belief in absolute and eternal values, which are knowable by man if he will consecrate intellect, will, and affections to the great quest. This is of course the message of Plato ; the Indians want to claim him as well as Pythagoras, as their own.

" May we not strive," says Radhakrishnan, " for a philosophy which will combine the best of European humanism and Asiatic religion, a philosophy profounder and more living than either, endowed with greater spiritual and ethical force, which will conquer the hearts of men and compel peoples to acknowledge its sway ? " If Britain and India, so different yet both so richly endowed, can come to understand each other in equal friendship, " it will be the greatest

achievement of history." It is a great deal to hope for, but we cannot tell. The Spirit bloweth where it listeth. The greatest event in human history was the inexplicable appearance of spiritual religion almost simultaneously in the middle of the first millennium before Christ, in China, India, Persia, Palestine and Greece.

We need not trouble ourselves here with the various substitutes for religion which divide and torment the modern world. But some attention may be spared for the small group of personalists who have found a very able exponent in the secretary of their society, Mr. J. B. Coates.* There is a flourishing school of personalists in France, with a journal called *Esprit*. The French society has become entangled with Marxism, which one would have thought would be odious to any personalist. Mr. Coates abhors Marxism and every other form of totalitarianism, but the bogey is always in his thoughts. He has given a chapter to Arthur Koestler, who from inside knowledge gives a terrible picture of Russia. Not only has a savage tyranny quenched every spark of freedom, but a new privileged class has come into existence, which has made Russia the most reactionary government in Europe.

Lotze and Kierkegaard are named as personalists ; but Mr. Coates confines himself to contemporary writers, and his chief authorities are Berdyaeff and Martin Buber. These writers find in every human being an " unique creative novelty " ; the highest levels of personality are the highest levels of value. What Berdyaeff calls the spirit is the integrating faculty which directs every part of man's being, including intuitive insights, the reality of which must not be denied. The truths of man's moral being are not discovered in the scientific laboratory.

Personalism is the exact antithesis of the spiritual imperialism of the collective man. Men cannot be transformed by making them walk shoulder to shoulder. The economic order should be as far as possible decentralized.

Mr. Coates deprecates what he calls the defeatism of Aldous Huxley and Gerald Heard. They advocate a revival of mysticism, largely Oriental in character, and do not advocate any large constructive policy. Koestler wishes to see what he calls oases, communities of cultivated persons who may discharge, it is to be hoped more intelligently, the task which the monasteries fulfilled in the dark ages, of keeping the torch of civilization burning till a new renaissance relieves them. This is not necessarily defeatism. We may think that the time has not yet come for a new experiment in government ; we must wait till recurrent wars and government by mass bribery have worked out their own perdition.

The Crisis of the Human Person. By J. B. Coates. Longmans. 12s. 6d.

The *étatisme* of the modern totalitarian State is the worst form of slavery known to history. " All that has been considered most vile in personal conduct is considered legitimate when carried out by the State, violence, espionage, falsehood, intimidation, murder, terror, torture." The acceptance of a double morality, one for the State, the other for individuals, has caused gigantic evils ; Martin Luther cannot be acquitted of encouraging this abomination.

The values ' created ' (or rather apprehended) by the human spirit are not all of the moral order. Truth and beauty are also ultimate values ; Berdyaeff is even inclined to put beauty in the first place ; but none of them must be treated as means to anything beyond itself.

The life of the spirit means a dying to the natural life and a rebirth. The Eastern Church, Berdyaeff thinks, has always emphasized the work of the Holy Spirit as transfiguring man's nature, while the West, especially in the Reformed Churches, has thought more of justification by the sacrifice of Christ.

The Russian follows Jewish and Christian tradition in regarding history as having an end. But he also agrees with Bosanquet that one of the worst evils of modern thought is its tendency to project its hopes into the future. Eternity enters the life of time in so far as the Spirit gives meaning to the life of time.

The little book of Martin Buber, *I and Thou*, is not much known in this country, but Mr. Coates rightly regards it as important. Of all relationships, personal love is the most important . What we love is *Thou*, not only *It*. God is the eternal *Thou*, the *Thou* which cannot become an *It*. But we can find God in our relationships with others. He who looks only into his own heart impoverishes his life, and soon even the God in his own heart deserts him. In prayer the I and Thou relationship is never transcended, and, as Lotze says, the man who has experienced nothing is made no wiser by solitude.

Lewis Mumford, whom the writer treats with great respect, points out that science, without intending it, ignores the complex data of actual experience. What was unmeasurable was unintelligible. The symbols of science were treated as if they represented a higher order of reality, when they represented only a higher order of abstraction.

Mr. Coates frequently mentions existentialism as if it were almost equivalent to personalism. But he shows that there is not much agreement among those who use the word. In this country the atheistic Sartre is often taken as the representative of existentialism. But there are theists among them, and Mr. Coates is quite definitely a theist in the Christian sense. The evolving, emerging God of Samuel Alexander and many others makes the Deity not the creator of the universe but its delayed bye-product. A process without a purpose is

supposed to achieve the noblest of all purposes. This cannot be. The author sums up his own faith in fine words on the last page of the book.

There is possibly a little too much of politics in this exponent of personalism. He would say that there is not enough of politics in the disciples of the Indians, though Aldous Huxley and Radhakrishnan are emphatic enough on the ruinous results of war, which must be the next abomination to go, as poor human nature has managed to abolish cannibalism and human sacrifice. But there is very much in common between the two schools of thought which have been briefly considered in this article. That the empirical ego is not the real self ; that the psyche is the wanderer in the metaphysical world, having affinities with the world of values and with the world of things ; that there are ultimate values in which the nature and purposes of God are revealed to us ; that these aspects of reality are knowable though not fully known ; that the growth of soul into spirit, which is at once the achievement of personality and the conquest of individualism, is the reward of severe though not fanatical discipline —all this is common to the two schools. There is nothing new in this, of course. Aldous Huxley calls his book on mysticism *The Perennial Philosophy*. This is also the position of Wilbur Urban's *The Intelligible World*, a book which I think deserves to be better known. There is a great tradition which at least demands respect.

It may be wishful thinking on my part, but I cannot help hoping that this religion of the Spirit, urged upon us from so many different sides, may win increasing acceptance. Those who have come forward as its advocates acknowledge their debt to Plato, Plotinus, some of the Christian mystics, and to the Indians. But we ought also to recognize that this was the faith of that much misunderstood genius, St. Paul. " Be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind." " Work out your own salvation, for it is God that worketh in you." " Put off the old man, who is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts, and put on the new man who after God is created in righteousness and true holiness." This teaching runs all through St. Paul's epistles. There is reason for Berdyaeff's criticism that Western theology has seldom fully understood the work of the Holy Spirit in transforming human nature. This error may be rectified if, as Bernard Shaw says, the Holy Spirit will be the sole survivor of the Christian Trinity. This of course is an overstatement ; but a combination of mysticism and humanitarianism may be the characteristic of religion in the near future. This ought to mean a diminution of sectarian exclusiveness, that sin which has dogged the footsteps of our religion since the Apostles wished to call down fire from heaven upon a Samaritan village.

MATERNITY IN GREAT BRITAIN

By Dugald Baird

SINCE the war ended we have had many warnings, reminiscent of Malthus, that world famine is not only possible but is likely to occur in this generation, if people continue to increase at the present rate without parallel increases in food production. We in this country, rightly or wrongly, are showing more concern at the falling birth rate, a concern which has not been allayed by a temporary post-war rise of births. The economic and political consequences of an aging population are clearly leading to difficult times ; and fears are also expressed that the relatively high rate of reproduction among the poor, together with a rate well below replacement level among the well-to-do, may be leading to such consequences as a decline in the average national intelligence.

Population policy, a very difficult and controversial question which is being examined by a Royal Commission, forms the background to a renewed interest in the social and individual aspects of human reproduction. When babies are scarce, it is particularly important that they should be produced with little waste, and that impediments to childbearing should be removed so far as is possible. The fact is that, at present, childbearing—a normal physiological act—not infrequently takes on the appearances of a moderately dangerous disease. Although few mothers die in childbed nowadays, large numbers are sufficiently ill during pregnancy to require hospital treatment, a high proportion of births resemble a surgical operation, and many babies die before or shortly after birth, or else are coaxed to survive by intensive care involving oxygen apparatus, heated cradles, and special feeding arrangements. Apart from such obvious manifestations of physiological failure, there are many mothers who have reason to dread pregnancy as a period of discomfort and strain, childbirth as a painful and hazardous ordeal, and early motherhood as the beginning of a new life involving serious worry, incessant physical demands and increased financial stringency.

There are three possible reasons why this should be so. First, the human stock may have degenerated to a stage when " natural " and trouble-free childbearing is as much the exception as the rule. Secondly, women may retain the potentiality for easy childbearing, but are prevented from expressing it, owing to adverse factors in the

environment—such factors as bad housing, malnutrition, poverty, ignorance, and wrong attitudes. Thirdly (if either or both of the above reasons hold), medical skill and attention may not be adequately applied to the problem of maternity.

It is perhaps natural that this third point has had most attention focussed on it. Doctors, as a whole, prefer to stick to their trade. Nevertheless, a joint committee of the Royal College of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists and the Population Investigation Committee has given its book *Maternity in Great Britain* the sub-title " A Survey of Social and Economic Aspects of Pregnancy and Childbirth." Readers who expect a broad outline of the problem as a whole will find, however, that it deals only with the nature and adequacy of the maternity and child welfare services, the immediate financial costs of childbearing, and with a few more specialized topics, such as prematurity, infant feeding and illegitimacy. The volume ends with 34 conclusions and recommendations, almost all of which are confined strictly to consideration of the medical and ancillary services. This restriction of the viewpoint may have been made deliberately by the joint committee and some readers may accept it as reasonable. The volume is a most useful book and should be read by all those interested in this most important subject. It contains many interesting statistics. Only a few examples can be given from the 47 tables, most of which refer to an inquiry undertaken on a large sample of women delivered during one week in 1946.

Nearly all women now receive some degree of ante-natal supervision, but only 43 per cent. were seen before the end of the third month of pregnancy. The earliest arrangements were made by the well-to-do and by women attending private doctors, and the latest by unmarried mothers. There is no doubt that there is much room for improvement in ante-natal care, especially in the direction of earlier attendance. The need for avoidance of long journeys to clinics, for appointments systems and continuity of personnel are all stressed. Forty-one per cent. of women were confined in hospital, 13 per cent. in private beds in hospital or nursing homes, and the remainder at home. Among the professional classes, 24 per cent. of confinements took place at home ; in the lower income groups, there were 49 per cent. of domiciliary confinements. In London, 58 per cent. of women were confined in hospital. Nearly 40 per cent. of those confined at home would have preferred to go to hospital if they could have had anyone to look after the household in their absence, or if a bed had been available. Very often a mother with several children had her baby under the most unsuitable conditions at home. Cases are quoted where the mother shared her bed with several others.

The extent of the future demand for maternity hospital beds is difficult to forecast since it depends on a number of factors. Im-

provements in housing may lessen the demand if this is accompanied by a great extension of the home-help scheme.

The main source of complaint by the mothers themselves was lack of analgesia. Even in hospital only 52 per cent. received analgesia, and in domiciliary practice only 20 per cent. In both cases the incidence was highest where there was a doctor in attendance, especially when the patient belonged to the professional class. The position is shown clearly in the following table.

	PERCENTAGE RECEIVING ANALGESIA		
	Professional Class.	*Black Coated Workers.*	*Manual Workers.*
Hospital Confinement	82	58	34
Domiciliary	57	32	18

Complaints about hospital routine were — too rigid discipline and lack of visitors, patients being wakened at a very early hour, and too much noise.

Very few mothers outside the professional and salaried classes had any paid domestic assistance, and the home-help schemes arranged by many local authorities were not nearly adequate.

As mentioned earlier, the economic inquiry was limited to an investigation of the immediate costs of maternity. The average expenditure in a first maternity ranged from £57 among professional and salaried workers to £31 among agricultural workers.

Taking all occupational groups together (average £40 for first births), 20 per cent. of the expenditure was on medical and institutional fees, five per cent. on other confinement costs, 19 per cent. on maternity garments, and 56 per cent. on layette and equipment. The cost of maternities after the first was less by about one-third. Such figures mean that six weeks' net income was spent by labourers' families on first births, and four weeks' net income on second births.

Infant welfare sessions, though frequently held in unsuitable premises, were attended by 57 per cent. of women ; 6.4 per cent. of all single births were premature, that is to say, the baby weighed 5½lbs. or less. By the end of the eighth week, 43 per cent. of babies were bottle fed.

The statistical tables are accompanied by many pages of text, most of which is devoted to assessment of the value of the maternity services in preventing mortality and morbidity. It is here that the report is at its weakest. Despite numerous qualifications the general argument and, more specifically, the final recommendations, leave the reader with the impression that if all women attended well-run ante-natal clinics from an early stage in pregnancy, received adequate analgesia during confinement, and had to spend less on equipping themselves, much of the social differentiation in mortality and morbidity, and the high incidence of early weaning in all social

classes would rapidly disappear.

While no one would disagree that adequate ante-natal care and skilful midwifery is of the highest importance, it is extremely doubtful if these influences alone can produce the effect desired. We may take four subjects to illustrate the point—foetal mortality, prematurity, breast feeding, and eclampsia.

FOETAL MORTALITY.—With regard to the effect of social conditions, such as over-crowding, it is stated that " amongst first confinements both in hospital and at home, there is an increase in the combined stillbirth and neo-natal death rate as the density increases. In hospital the rate increases from 43 per 1,000 total births amongst those who live in dwellings where there are one or fewer persons per room to 67 per 1,000 for more overcrowded houses. In home confinements, the corresponding rates are respectively 40 and 53." The report concludes that " the similar increase in both home and hospital confinements suggests that increasing poverty is the causative factor and that *conditions at the time of confinement and during the lying-in period are not of great importance*." This is in line with the observations made by others that where standards of obstetrical care are similar, the foetal mortality amongst the poor, that is, those living in relatively over-crowded conditions, is between two and three times that amongst the well-to-do. It does not necessarily follow, of course, that over-crowding *per se* is the cause of the excess mortality among the poor.

PREMATURITY.—The incidence of prematurity was correlated with the adequacy of ante-natal care as assessed by the number of ante-natal visits paid by the patient. The percentage of premature births was 4.7 per cent where ante-natal care was adequate, and 9.8 per cent. where it was inadequate. It is stated that these figures strongly suggest that the differences arise from variations in the adequacy of ante-natal care. This argument is fallacious. It is well known that many of those who report late in pregnancy and attend irregularly are those who live in poor social circumstances. The report also stated that " it is by no means proved that prematurity frequently has a nutritional basis. Indeed the data of the present inquiry suggest that other factors play a greater part." What are the other factors ? We know that even where ante-natal care is good, there is still a high death rate from prematurity amongst the poor. In 50 per cent. of the premature labours occurring in women attending ante-natal clinics, no obvious abnormality can be found. The onset of premature labour can seldom be anticipated, and occurs despite " adequate " ante-natal care.

BREAST FEEDING.—According to the report, the main difficulty is failure to establish lactation ; yet it is well known that between 80 and 90 per cent. of babies leave maternity hospitals breast fed. The

conclusion is reached that the establishment and maintenance of lactation depends more on the quality of ante-natal supervision than on the care given during the puerperium. This is based on the observation that in primiparae adequately supervised at an ante-natal clinic, the incidence of bottle feeding at eight weeks was 37 per cent. as against 53 per cent. in the inadequately supervised group. Again it is assumed that in this latter group, improved ante-natal supervision would lower the incidence of bottle feeding. This is a very doubtful assumption. If the quality of the ante-natal care was an important factor, it seems strange that the great extension in ante-natal care which has taken place in the last 25 years has been accompanied by a fall in the incidence of lactation. The problem of human lactation is much too complicated to be discussed shortly. It is possible that those who do not attend ante-natal clinics are those living in poor social circumstances, some of whom are handicapped mentally, educationally and physically, so that they would be most unlikely to carry through lactation successfully. On the other hand, for one reason or another, the well-to-do, although probably more able physically to lactate, see no particular need to do so since babies can now be very successfully reared on the various dried milks. The infant mortality continues to fall despite the high incidence of bottle feeding.

ECLAMPSIA.—Table 14 shows that the death rate from eclampsia in England and Wales per 1,000 live births was 0.21 in the years 1931-1932, and 0.20 in 1941-1942, while in 1944-1945 it had dropped to 0.11. Those who wish to stress the importance of ante-natal care say that this fall was due largely to the fact that women reported earlier in pregnancy because of shortage of beds in hospitals, and therefore came under treatment sooner. Those who wish to minimize the value of ante-natal care say that the great expansion in ante-natal care during the 25 years up till 1941 had accomplished nothing in the prevention of deaths from eclampsia. There is no doubt that the most careful ante-natal care has for many years been able to lower the death rate from eclampsia but very often the standard of ante-natal care has not been good enough for this. The striking fall of 50 per cent. in mortality from eclampsia between the years 1941 and 1945 is too sudden and marked to be accounted for by improved ante-natal care alone, especially when there has been little technical advance in the treatment of the condition during that time. It is all the more remarkable when we consider the strain of war and the shortage of doctors and nurses. There is some evidence that the better economic circumstances resulting from full employment, priority food for expectant mothers, plus intensive food propaganda, had some effect. It is interesting to note that an equally striking fall in the stillbirth rate occurred during those years and that, as in the case of

eclampsia, there had been little fall in the death rate for many years before the war.

* * * *

It seems clear that the best results will be obtained when as much attention is paid to the patient as to the service. The maternity service is only one facet of the problem of the organization of healthy living in the modern State. Although great strides have been made in Britain in improving the standard of physical health and educational level of the nation, there is still a great deal to be done.

It is well recognized that the infant mortality, especially the death rate in infants between one and 12 months old, is very much influenced by social conditions, but it is not nearly so well known that poverty and slum conditions directly or indirectly have a very deleterious effect on reproduction. This is possibly due to the fact that there is much less of a social gradient in stillbirth rates than in infant mortality. Great differences in reproductive habits exist between the social classes, and these make crude comparisons of stillbirth rates of limited value.

In the higher income groups (Social Classes I and II) reproduction is carefully planned. Marriage or at least child-bearing is postponed till there is some economic security and a prospect of a house. Thus the first child is not born in many cases till the mother is nearing 30 years of age, which increases the risks and difficulties of pregnancy and childbirth. On the other hand, however, the well-to-do mother is usually well grown, in a good state of nutrition, seeks the best available advice and skill from early in pregnancy and is careful to find out what she should and should not do. She secures admission to hospital or nursing home for the confinement, and usually has a doctor or specialist and a midwife in attendance. In this way she tries to ensure safety and comfort during the labour. In these circumstances, given good medical attention, the stillbirth and neonatal mortality (death rate in the first month of life) is very low. Contraception, usually of the mechanical type, is used to space the children and limit the total number to two or three, which is as many as the parents feel they can afford, if living and educational standards are to be maintained. The only serious risk run in this group is that sometimes the mother's age predisposes to complications of pregnancy and labour.

In Social Classes III, IV and V, especially in the large industrial cities, the picture is quite different. Here there is still plenty of stunted growth, poor health and malnutrition, and in many cases little evidence of planning. Many (about 30 per cent.) are pregnant before marriage and have no house. Many have little knowledge of food values, and little initiative in finding out what they should do. Unless driven by the threat of failure to secure a hospital bed,

they do not report early in pregnancy. At many ante-natal clinics patients have to wait a long time in uncomfortable surroundings and because of the numbers and general shortage of time, are given little personal attention beyond the detailed physical examination. Many are quite ignorant of what is expected of them during labour. If they are confined at home they receive little or no sedative during the first stage, and no analgesia in the second stage of labour. Fortunately most mothers in these social classes are young (70 per cent. are under 25 years of age), so that labour is easier on that account. While conditions at home are often bad for a first birth, they are much worse for subsequent births, since the mother is now overworked and underfed, and living in overcrowded conditions. These mothers should be in hospital where they could have rest and sleep, but they are the very women who cannot leave their children.

There is great ignorance of contraceptive methods and facilities for advice is poor. Where contraceptive clinics are sponsored by local authorities, it is often laid down as a condition that advice must be given only " on medical grounds." Even textbooks of obstetrics written as late as 1946 suggest as indications for the use of contraceptives " severe heart or kidney disease, or insanity." Very few of the women in the poorer classes who have large families do so from choice. The worse the slums, the bigger the families and the higher the stillbirth rate. In the south-east of England families are small and the stillbirth rate comparatively low. In the industrial areas of the north of England and of Scotland, the families are larger and the stillbirth rate high. Holland is one of the few countries in the world with an overall net reproduction rate of one or over, that is, above replacement, and a low stillbirth rate.

The stunted city dweller shows her poor reproductive performance by producing an inferior baby, which may be born prematurely or die before the onset of labour, or during the course of a normal labour. Should labour be difficult there is a great risk of the child being damaged.

In our large cities we, therefore, have to maintain large numbers of beds for the treatment of ante-natal complications and elaborate and costly nurseries for the treatment of feeble and premature infants. Much of this expense would be unnecessary if the social conditions producing the complications did not exist.

There is no easy answer to this problem. Reproductive performance depends more on the mother herself than on any other single factor. She in turn is largely the product of her social environment, so that there are limits to what can be done by ordinary ante-natal care, even of the most conscientious kind. Also those most in need of advice and guidance during pregnancy are those least likely to seek it and act upon it. Bad living and dietary habits acquired in child-

hood and adolescence are difficult to influence, and remedial efforts begun for the first time during pregnancy may have rather disappointing results. The outlook of some obstetricians is rather short-sighted ; indeed many of those on the staffs of large maternity hospitals in slum areas and who are skilled in the management of obstructed labour and other gross deviations from the normal would be bored if all this " good material " were removed. One of the great staffing difficulties in maternity hospitals situated in prosperous areas is to provide enough operative work for all the obstetricians necessary to staff the clinics. There seems little doubt that either the obstetrician must become more of a physician, or maternity hospitals must be partly staffed in other ways. The emphasis is steadily moving away from the operative to the physiological and preventive approach.

PROGRESS REPORT

By Ralph Lawrence

How do we fare, now that five years have passed :
Time and to spare in which to know relief
From desolate Siberias of grief—
How do we fare, still travelling to the West ?
Not always is the road severe with frost,
Not always have our hopes proved fugitive ;
A measure of contentment we achieve,
And even joy, regarded once as lost,
Has visited our hearts. Although at times
Slowly the sun to its meridian climbs
And the swift wind has a corrosive breath,
Neither the wind nor laggard sun can chill
Those who, like us, compute each mortal ill
By the remorseless yardstick of a death.

GEZIRA COTTON SCHEME

By C. Armine Willis

WHEN the British and Egyptian troops had broken the back of Dervish resistance at Omdurman in 1898, followed by the pursuit and death of the Khalifa Abdullahi and all the leading men of his organization, Lord Kitchener was confronted with the administration of the Sudan, a country reduced to the lowest ebb of poverty by tyranny, famine, disease and war. The agreement under which the condominium of the Sudan by Great Britain and Egypt was instituted provided the general terms on which the administration would be run, but it was clear the country would be a burden on both governments until an effective means could be found to provide a source of profit and export from which adequate funds could be obtained to meet the expenses of administration and to raise the general standard of living from its initial squalor.

As a preliminary step, in 1907 Sir William Garstin was asked to visit the country and advise, and he outlined a scheme whereby a dam should be thrown across the Blue Nile and a considerable area of the " Gezira " put under irrigated cultivation. The Gezira is a name applied to the triangle of which the apex is the junction of the White and Blue Niles at Khartoum and the base the line running from the dam at Makwai to Kosit on the White Nile. Before the scheme, the southern part of this area was semi-inhabited chiefly by nomad Arabs with their cattle ; the centre provided the main rain-grown durra cultivation in the country, and the north, where the rain-fall was very slight, had very few dwellers and sufficed to maintain only goats.

Before attempting to start any considerable scheme, a great deal of experimental work was needed : the first step was the establishment in 1907 of a pumping station at Barakat to water an area of some 2,000 feddans, and then to ascertain the adaptability of the land to cotton, to discover the most effective methods of levelling, water distribution and control, and the special peculiarities of local cultivation. This experimental area was extended by the subsequent installations of Tayyeba and Wadet Nai, as circumstances permitted, bringing up the total to 12,000 feddans.

Meanwhile if the whole area available was to be brought into an irrigation scheme, steps had to be taken to deal with land tenure and

native rights, and to this end a special board was set up to examine claims to land, and to register these in the names of the natives or, where land was unclaimed, in the name of the Government. This occupied the years from 1907 till the outbreak of the 1914-1918 war, which delayed any further developments.

By the end of that war it was becoming very pressing for the Sudan Government to increase its income to meet its needs and to relieve the continuous drain on Egyptian resources. Moreover it was pretty certain there was going to be a heavy demand for all raw materials, including cotton, and the British Government strongly urged the building of the dam and the implementing of the scheme. To do this however required considerable funds and the Sudan Government, not having any " collateral " to offer, and ill placed to obtain a loan from the open market, successfully impressed on the British Treasury that if the scheme were so much in British interests the loan should be guaranteed by the British Government, and this policy was adopted.

At that time a firm contract was unobtainable, as prices were fluctuating wildly and labour and labour costs were uncertain, and the only arrangement that could be made was one of costs plus interest ; with the result that the dam which in pre-war days was reckoned to cost some £2,000,000 actually cost over £7,000,000, and there was still a great deal of work to be done in making the main canals and bridges, and in levelling and similar works. Special legislation had to be passed to enable all the land within the scheme to be leased to the Government for a period of 40 years. The Government then transferred it all to an organization for the administration of the scheme as an agricultural whole, and this let off the land in suitable small blocks (mostly 40 feddans) to tenants for cultivation.

This arrangement caused considerable consternation among the native landowners for various reasons. It was customary for them to try to get land scattered all over the main area of cultivation of the Gezira, because rain was liable to be very local, and if an owner had, say, a dozen different patches widely scattered, the chances were that at least half of those would get sufficient rain to produce an adequate crop. If they all got rain, then there was a bumper crop and reserves could be put away in the " Matinceras " against a bad year. Landowners were now going to be deprived of a considerable part of these scattered plots for a scheme and a system of agriculture of which the native knew nothing. He was also doubtful as to what was going to happen when the lease ran out or what he would get back. It was true that the Government were paying a rent for the land, but it was only nominal, and it is not to be wondered at if there were misgivings about the security of tenure.

There was too the question of the organization which was to do the managing. This was obviously a highly specialized task, and not

one coming within the normal functions of Government administration, and the Government looked for a suitable agent to perform it.

In order to meet the debt charges incurred in building the dam and the main canal and its overheads, the Government claimed 60 per cent. of the net value of the cotton crop, while the tenant was to get 40 per cent. The tenant also got gratis the durra and lubia that were grown on the land, for which he paid neither tax nor rent. But the tenant did have to pay for services rendered such as ploughing and seed supply and had to provide his own labour for all crops.

The Gezira Development Syndicate agreed to take over the management, dig the minor canals, put up the buildings, instal the ginning factories and so on and to accept 20 per cent. from the Government's share of 60 per cent.

These then were the general lines of distribution of work when the dam was opened in 1925, and the first areas of the scheme were put under cultivation from it. As time and opportunity allowed, the area was extended further and further until the scheme was complete. It extends some 125 miles from south to north and reaches to within 30 miles of Khartoum, and is some 30 miles wide at its broadest point and includes about 1 million acres, of which 860,000 feddans are actually available for cultivation. The normal unit is 40 feddans of which 10 is under cotton, five under durra, five under lubia and the rest is fallow. Seen from the air, the scheme must have much the appearance of a chestnut leaf, with the main canal as the backbone of the leaf, the minor canals extending from it and the smaller irrigation channels being taken off these so as to reach finally every one of the 40 feddans (*hawasha*) units. Sometimes the unit is still smaller.

Villages have a tendency to be on higher ground, as a result of continuous refuse deposit if not from the original siting, and so are mostly out of the line of direct irrigation, and steps are taken to provide huts for the cultivators on each plot to ensure his being near his work. In the early stages of the scheme, a good deal of pressure had to be applied at times to get tenants to carry out their obligations, not merely in the interests of their own plot, but of the scheme as a whole. The absolute necessity of clearing away the old cotton plants, to avoid the spread of disease, was not obvious and it was hard work to teach it. The need of taking the water as and when it was available, often at inconvenient times of day, had to be brought home, and the tenant had to recognize not only the advantages to his own pocket of efficiency in farming, but the duty to his neighbours in maintaining the general standard and averaging out where differences occurred. Not all land is equally good, and where through no fault of his own a tenant has to have his land ploughed two or even three times or to treat it with fertilizer the cost of this is divided amongst all the

tenants ; otherwise there would be no incentive to natives to take up land where extra service might be necessary. On the other hand, each tenant can effectively increase his own profits by ensuring that by his work he gets the highest grade of cotton that he can.

The history of the syndicate's administration has been a chequered one, not merely because of the difficulty of introducing a conservative people to a new system of life, or the constant adjustments needed as the scheme grew larger and more complex. The chief trouble was the varying price of cotton. When low prices were combined with disease the result was formidable. In the first few years, cultivating on fresh soil gave resistance to the cotton plants but in 1929 black worm and leaf-curl both caused great damage, and the resultant drop in production combined with low prices reduced the profits of the tenants to some £4 a feddan. The following year was still worse and the profits were nil. The tenants began to leave, especially those who came from other parts of the Sudan. Both the Government and the syndicate, whose overheads remained the same whatever the crop, suffered heavy losses, and it became a matter of serious consideration whether the syndicate could afford to carry on. Fortunately the following year brought better results and it looked as if a solution was found at any rate to some part of the trouble from disease, and the syndicate decided to carry on. Their courage was ill repaid by another two years of poor returns, but after that although there cannot be said to be any final answer to disease, great improvement was recorded and higher prices prevailed.

During the recent war, normal markets were closed and shipping was a matter of great difficulty. The only possible policy was to sell to the British Government, and this was arranged, at the price prevailing before the outbreak of war. It has been claimed that this was unduly low, but as only the British Government could buy or ship or pay, the possible alternatives of higher prices are obviously imaginary. Indeed, had this agreement not been made, it is a question if production could have continued at all.

The price question has been latterly one of the greatest difficulty. In the latter part of 1947 the figure was higher than it ever had been before and an agreement was made to sell to the British Government at the price holding in October. Nevertheless by the time delivery was due, six months later, the price had soared and tenants were viewing the selling policy of the syndicate with dismay. However the British Government consented to cancel the agreement and to base a price on the average taken over several months.

In the five years before the war, of a £13M export, cotton provided approximately 80 per cent., at a time when £4½ was a good price for cotton. In the last two years, when the price has been £15-20, clearly very large sums have been made available to the three partners

in the scheme, with all the attendant risks of inflation and extravagance.

Meanwhile the syndicate approaches 1950, when it must hand over to the Government and depart, or else start a new arrangement. Some discussion has taken place on the latter possibility, and the Government expressed the view that there could be no question of an extension to the syndicate unless steps could be taken to adopt a policy of " Sudanization" similar to that being adopted throughout the Sudan. The word, for which it is hard to hold a brief, is meant to imply a policy whereby the natives of the Sudan are given an increasing share in the administration of affairs so that at long last they may be in a position to manage for themselves without tutelage or at least with only such advice as they may choose of their own initiative to obtain.

In view of the fact that higher education of university rank is in its infancy, the Gordon College only recently having started on such lines, and that secondary schools are still extremely few, it is clear that the staff required to take the more responsible positions and to fill all the subordinate jobs throughout the government cannot be found for some considerable time, and existing experience of " Sudanization " shows that efficiency suffers unless some external supervision of an alien sort is maintained.

The syndicate put " Sudanization " in hand, and the whole area was divided into 40 districts. In each district a council was formed of the tenants who were called upon to discuss the administrative arrangements the Syndicate deemed necessary. The Government has decided however not to extend the employment of the syndicate, and presumably in 1950 will have to take over the administration itself. Notwithstanding this, the syndicate is continuing to carry out the policy of " Sudanization " on the lines indicated though they have no incentive in doing so and indeed it adds considerably to their work.

In order to cope with problems arising out of cultivation, there is a Research Station at Wad Medain. A great deal of work has been done to find a type of cotton that resists black worm, and methods of resistance to leaf curl, and all the elaborate processes of securing healthy seed and the types required not only in the Gezira but in other parts of the Sudan such as Tokas and the Garbi. The research goes on in every direction, and indeed, to have 860,000 acres of cultivation in which there is a rain gauge every five miles and every ten feddans of cotton is individually controlled, makes a statistician's paradise. It has been found for instance that calculations based on the previous year's rainfall and this, up to August 1, can give an approximate estimate of the year's yield. This is of course, a very valuable piece of information for making the necessary arrangements

for every process from picking to shipping. It does not however deal with the grade of cotton that will be mainly prevalent.

There are normally five grades of cotton, and it has been generally the case that earlier pickings produce the higher grades, and that each picking is consistent. 1949 however has given some surprises by providing difference of grade not only at the same dates, but on the same plot and even on the same plans. In early days difference of grade, whilst it was of importance for the buyer in getting the type required, was only a few piastres different in price. But since the enormous rise in the price of cotton, there has been a considerable staggering in the price of grades and it is becoming increasingly important to get a high proportion of good grades and get all grades isolated, as if grades are mixed they must inevitably be priced at the lower rate.

Although the ordinary Government machinery for local government applies within the scheme as elsewhere, it is remarkable that the area which is the economic and financial backbone of the country is behind areas less prosperous. The fact is that the control and administration of agriculture inevitably took first place, and the discipline required for this made the more normal methods less obviously necessary. Moreover the tribes who had originally occupied the southern section were not necessarily employed in the scheme, being cattle people rather than cultivators ; the people in the centre had always been very mixed and lacking in tribal cohesion, and the small numbers in the northern area were outnumbered by immigrants coming to work in the scheme. Nevertheless an attempt has been made to base the local government on a tribal scheme.

Further, the officer specially appointed to cope with the problem of the Gezira scheme during the war, owing to the absence of a large number of officials in the forces and elsewhere, was compelled to double his work with other activities, for example, in the rest of the Gezira province, and the local administration cannot be said to be as active or as efficient as it might be, nor does it appear to recognize the scope and nature of its duties. No doubt this is a matter of concern to the officials supervising it, whose anxieties are increased by the fact that in a few years there will be very grave problems to be met. The Government lease of 40 years is soon coming to an end. It is quite obvious that the Government cannot return to landlords the actual plots they originally had registered in their names, as they might be at the bottoms of canals, or roads, or distributed over different *hawashas*, or anywhere. Moreover, it is essential to maintain the *hawasha* system when each unit is under an individual control. It might be thought possible to compensate landowners by giving them an equivalent amount of land within the scheme, allowing a percentage of reduction for the necessary working of the scheme, and to

give the individual the nearest unit in *hawashas* and a monetary compensation for the balance. But that would postulate that he would invariably cultivate the *hawashas* and would be a good tenant, which would be a rash assumption. Again, at present, the tenant pays no rent for his land, or tax, but if the land reverted to a landlord no doubt the landlord who has so far been getting a rent from the Government would expect a fully adequate rent from the tenant, and this would deter tenants, cutting across the existing arrangement whereby they work in the scheme from a central control.

Finally, if there is any suggestion that landowners are to hold land as personal property within the scheme, they will in due course die and their property be divided amongst their heirs, and the principle of the undivided share in land as applied, for example, in other parts of the Sudan, would gradually produce a state of confusion. In two or three generations there would be registered such a list of shareholders in each *hawasha* that no one would be able to get anything done.

The success of the working of the scheme so far depends on the maintenance of the *hawasha* as a unit. Whether it would be possible to turn the whole scheme into a sort of company in which landowners registered within the scheme could have special founders' shares bearing special privileges, is a question. Some such solution seems the only possible one, but it must have the acquiescence of the public as it is a matter in which the good faith of the Government is bound up.

The question of investment has other applications. In the last two years millions have been poured into the pockets of the cotton growers. They have but little to spend it on. They can improve their housing, they can buy a lorry or a car, they might send their children to a higher school. But apart from spending more in sugar and in frocks for their womenkind, there is very little that they can find to put their money into, and though in theory they can bank it in the Post Office, not many do. The lean years are bound to come ; high prices must fall and disease and bad weather take their toll and then the money that ought to be saved now would be invaluable. Attempts have been made to impress on the central council the need of saving but have not met with any response. Also, not only should the syndicate and the tenants think of these things but the political organization of the country too. At a moment when there is increasing clamour for a larger voice in the administration, it would be reasonable for the people to begin by showing proper prudence in the administration of their private affairs.

(*The author sends this article from the Sudan. He was formerly Governor of the Upper Nile Province.*)

FLORENTINE LETTER

By Bruce Bain

THE red flower of the dome still crowns the noisy city by the Arno. There it hangs in an air of glory, the blossom, as it seems, of a doomed civilization living on the black market of the spirit. Kept for the survivors to admire, the fruit is ripe for picking. There are no more Renaissances in bud along these crowded twisting streets of Florence, so little changed since the days five hundred years ago when new ideas hummed like hornets outside the churches. They were to crystallize, these ideas, into poems and frescoes and speeches, into a cascade of words and theories that turned Europe topsy-turvy, that have kept their freshness if not their power. But Florence is much nearer than London to the Great Barrier and the dynamic behind it, the counter-Renaissance which is the death of all that Florence and its blossom of building, medieval and modern, stand for. Trieste is only some 400 kilometres away, and the city is part of an expandable bastion of the west.

Like other citizens all over Europe, the Florentines wait, watch the cycling events and the new American films, and hope for the best, though they are not quite sure, in this part of the world, what that is. Tuscany is strongly communist, but the communist majority in Florence is now only slender : the Christian democrats, who seem to represent the only unified opposition to the communists, have gained ground during the last year, and have strengthened their hold in the blue hills around the city, where the tubercular shepherds keep their thin flocks. In spite of the sound and fury of local politics, the Florentines know that the real issues are decided in a room out of Italy, where Italians have no say.

But in spite of the cloud of war, the city is more than a museum of what was, in many ways, Europe's golden age, and the dome is more than a symbol of the past. This is an affirmation of the individual creative will, of the imperfect, greedy, holy, vicious and glorious spirit of man at work on his own, a testimony against the remaking of the rebellious mind into the co-operative and expendable unit. Built for all the wrong reasons, perhaps, but built imperishably. The city is still an organism. It has sprawled only a little way into the cypresses and olive-groves around, and the toy landscape, studded with the white villas of the well-to-do, is still much the same territory

across which the squabbling feudal cities sent their private armies. Here it is easy to imagine a society where a man could spend his life making four bronze doors for a church—and be honoured for it.

The English came here for atmosphere and education, and stayed for life : it was a place in which to cultivate one's sensations, at a low cost. Now the English have surrendered Florence to the Italians, for good, it seems. A few English Florentines still linger on in a limbo of the past. Elderly English gentlewomen in veils still trail their dogs along the Arno past the tall houses, quiet behind their grilles ; and an occasional grizzled dandy in spats leaves a whiff of scent in the air. But these will soon be the last arrivals in the cramped little cemetery of expatriates. The Shelleys and the Brownings of to-day are too busy working for the British Council or the B.B.C. to refine their sensibilities in the Uffizi : they get along on Henry Moore and the latest Bond Street novelties. Yet one can live easily on £35 in Italy—for a month or more, if one is careful.

The literary ghosts of the Florentine parks and piazzas will soon have only the Swiss tourists for company, and who then will remember Landor in his Riccardi Palace rooms, or Shelley wandering in Fiesole—which is one of the most evil-smelling beauty spots in the world? For the Americans in Florence are not, on the whole, the kind on which Henry James, for instance, was accustomed to feed his sense of national inferiority. These are lanky students, counting their lire, and seeing everything conscientiously—every Ascension, every statue, every chapel, till the guide-book is gutted and the conscience is appeased.

I stayed in the Piazza Santa Maria Novella, where James finished off *Roderick Hudson* some seventy years ago. (James, after nearly a year in Italy, said that he had hardly spoken to any Italians but " washerwomen and waiters "; no wonder that Europe " held him at arm's length.") To Henry James, Florence in 1877 seemed " empty melancholy, bankrupt . . . turning into an old sleeping, soundless city." The motor horn has helped to change all that, and the electric trams, of course, but there is no lack of inner vitality in the Florentines. They seem never to go to bed. All night long the conversations rattle on in the loggia, where during the day there are book-barrows and hot chestnut stalls, and the carts and cars rumble over the cobbles. Then there are the bells. Life in an Italian city such as Florence, over-populated with churches, is the nightmare of an English campanologist. Bells shake in every key at every minute of the hour, as it seems, in bursts and volleys and long slow weirds, clappers rolling up and down throughout the day, tongues lolling in the bronze mouths, telling of God.

Florence is certainly not soundless in 1949, nor is it, I think, bankrupt, in the sense that James intended, though it lives, like the

rest of Italy, on the edge of financial ruin. It is no longer the centre of European trade and diplomacy, where once the banking families exported capital and talent, supplied dukes, diplomats and popes, and built the palaces which now stand solidly as tenements, government offices or museums. But the shops are full of shoes and textiles and jewellery, of excellent workmanship and, for the English visitor, at reasonable prices. The cafés are full of conversation and the city is full of the courtesy and good humour which are the blossom of an old civilization. The traffic is anarchy, conducted with happy unconcern, and the foreigner is watched with frank curiosity but without rudeness. Is it only the sun that makes this good temper warm the narrow streets ?

There are few dress shops in Florence, except in the Via Tornabuoni quarter where the rich Americans still come. Yet the women on the whole dress more smartly than the women of Paris, London or Zurich. They have less chic than the Parisian, but there is general good taste and poise in dress and manner, and Florentine girls run up their own dresses at home. There is less variety of hair style here, perhaps because American films, though popular, make less impression on the natural taste of the Florentines. There are none of the bobs, bangs, pyramids, cones and quadrangles popular in London, for all are replaced by a suave bun or loop. It is noticeable that the men, too, dress more carefully than their English or Swiss counterparts. In Florence the shop assistant and the bank clerk wear the same well-tailored suits and carefully chosen shirts and ties, clothes that seem deliberate and not accidental shelter against the cold.

Florence, then, seems a rich enough city. The shelled ruins beyond the Ponte Vecchio are already part of the past, and the poverty is concealed—splashed in a spit of blood near Cellini's Perseus, or harsh in the bitter generosities of the old women in church. In the Piazza della Repubblica the holidaymakers—perpetual or temporary—eat their ice cream or sip their *café latte*, behind a toy hedge of green trees, in tubs and they are scarcely bothered by the gamins who walk endlessly up and down asking for cigarettes, or the olive-faced black-mailing nuns, or the old derelicts who walk with feet swathed in rags. Florentine beggars only ask once : they never persist.

For the resident, Florence is provincial these days. There is no permanent theatre, music is restricted to weekly concerts, and there are few English or Italian films to be seen. Rita Hayworth is the favourite actress of the Florentines. The Italian film industry is still tiny, and is building up a home market against strong resistance. Books are dear, but there are excellent bookshops in Florence, well stocked with French, English, American and even German books.

Then there are the churches, and the museums, and the galleries, the places of pilgrimage, in the midst of this bustling, vulgar, happy

city. The immense stillness of the Duomo ; the giant glittering altar in Santa Maria Novella, like a magnificent Christmas toy ; San Miniato with its green and white marble face, among the cypresses on the hill ; busy SS. Annunziata ; the Carmine, among the slums, with its Masaccio frescoes ; churches with a continual business of prayer, alive with worshippers, priests, tourists, where altars are going on and off in a constant kindling and snuffing of candles. Ascensions, crucifixions, depositions cover the walls, endlessly re-enacted in indifferent frescoes that the weary visitor can hardly distinguish from the masterpieces. There are saints of all shapes and sizes in these depopulated churches arranged for show, but the only anachronism in them seems to be the agnostic.

There is the magnificent David in the Accademia, and his two twins—one silhouetted across the sluggish Arno on the Piazzale Michelangelo, and the other below the Palazzo Vecchio, where one can see the most superb room in Europe, the Cinquecento room. There are the quiet cloisters of San Marco with its frescoed cells where Savonarola worked and Fra Angelico painted, and the oasis of the Piazza di Santa Croce. Across the Ponte Vecchio, with its jumble of jewellery, the Boboli Gardens still keep their white colony of battered statues among the quiet geometry of walks and fountains and the Mercato Nuovo is busy with the sellers of floppy straw hats and coloured baskets. At the Pitti Palace it is still too dark to see most of the pictures on the over-crowded walls, and half the Uffizi is still closed. The picture gallery of the Baptistery doors has an eager audience every day, as for the last five hundred years, and the Bargello keeps its treasures.

This is the city of Florentines, and the city of pictures, too—the nest of artists, Michelangelo, Perugini, Brunelleschi, the della Robbias, di Credi, Fra Angelico, Lippo Lippi, and many more. Here are Virgins in thousands—country girls, nuns, children, wenches, society débutantes, sulky, exalted, angelic and suave ; here is an army of angels, with gold dinner plate halos, tub-bellies, dirty wings ; and many Christs, plump Tuscans, dark-eyed Eastern gods, frail and sexless saviours. The great pictures of the world are clustered in a surfeit of richness, all under the red flower of the dome that hangs after all, so it seems, like a blessing on the work that was made here.

AMERICAN BOOKS AND THE AMERICAN DREAM

By Grace A. Wood

"GOD hath sifted a whole nation that He might send choice grain into this wilderness". The words were written by a seventeenth-century governor of Massachusetts. Puritan Old England was that nation so sifted, New England, a harsh step-mother of a land, ice-scoured, boulder-strewn, stony-hearted, in which the choice grain flourished. Its people never doubted their quality, nor did they doubt their mission; the preamble to the first Legislative Measure of Vermont was: Our aim is "to adopt the laws of God . . . until there is time to frame better." Their courage came from conscience. But as time went on "the gristle of conscience, work, thrift, shrewdness, duty, became bone"—so Adams in *The Epic of America*. Before this loss of flexibility, however, New England had its hey-day. When Emerson proclaims: "We will walk on our own feet; we will work with our own hands; we will speak our own minds," it is the authentic voice of New England that we hear. With Emerson, in that mid-nineteenth century blossoming, we associate Thoreau, solitary as a desert father, Hawthorne, author of that "lovely, lonely book" *The Scarlet Letter* (1850), Whittier, Longfellow, O. Wendell Holmes, J. R. Lowell and, perhaps greatest of them all, Herman Melville. In *Moby Dick* (1851) America's gift of symbolism in which the conscience of New England speaks, emerges.

The influence of the New England spirit, puritanical, individualistic, shrewd, 'pawky' in the Scottish phrase, is seen in recent writers. It is incarnate supremely in the poems of Emily Dickinson. Her most famous critic, Conrad Aiken, refers to her "spinsterly angularity", "singular perversity", her "strange and original genius." When we read her lines:

> This world is not conclusion
> A sequel stands beyond,

or,

> . . . of the colossal substance
> Of immortality—

then we know that the choice grain sown in the wilderness is still bringing forth fruit. Edna St. Vincent Millay carries on the tradition. Two other poets bear the New England stamp. Robert Frost is the poet of the quietness of New England: of its stone walls, of the wild

thyme on the rock ledges, of green apples and hired men. The other, E. A. Robinson, deals with the defeated, the failures, the harshness, the dry bones, yet digging deeply into a New England's past that had its roots in the Puritan faith, he finds " An orient Word, that will not be erased." In her poets at least New England survives.

The prose writers are equally individual, thrifty, shrewd, retaining their grittiness. In *The Country of the Pointed Firs*, Sarah Orne Jewett displays a perfect sampler of New England. In her windswept Maine the lively, not unmalicious, hard-working people live again. More recently, M. E. Chase, in the novels, *Mary Peters* and *Silas Crockett*, portrays New England of the whaling ships, of Nantucket, and of the sea-captains. Reading her books is like peering through a port-hole into the recent past. Again, in L. D. Rich's lively and courageous *We Took To The Woods* (1944), the same clear steadiness of purpose shines. To read her comments on her marriage as " just exactly as good as being alone ", is to realize how strong is the passion for freedom, how intense the individuality.

Look westward next, to the literature of the frontier and note the romantic movement in action ; Jeffersonian democracy, that all men are created equal ; the inalienable rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness ; the moving frontier. Such are the words, emblazoned as on banners, that meet us when we turn our backs on the eastern states. Inflammatory, they have influenced all writing about the west, from Bret Harte to the delicate pastel of Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop.* It seems they produce either the highly-coloured vigour of a Jack London, the liveliness of Wyoming's green grass, or, especially in more recent years, a hankering for a past more dramatic, less regulated than the present. This re-discovery of the past is the more interesting trend, since it uncovers the roots of America in Christendom, in the threatened civilization of western Europe.

Of Stephen Vincent Benêt (1898-1943) was written : " He is frankly looking for the soul of a people . . . and he thinks he will find this soul in the accurate and reverent examination of the past." He planned four books, and lived to write but two of them. *Western Star*, published posthumously, and *John Brown's Body* (1928). Another poet took up the tale. Hervey Allen projected four novels, of which two are published : *The Fortress and the Fort*, and *Bedford Village.* The second book ends with a cameo of the hero rising in his stirrups in the sunrise, pointing westwards, his long shadow stretched out before him. And westwards with any number of pioneers, we can go. On *The Oregon Trail*, by Parkman, recently reissued ; with the Mormons to the Salt Lake in Susan Ertz's *The Proselyte* ; in the covered wagons from St. Louis in Conrad Richter's horrific *Smoke Over The Prairie* ; by water with the *Voyageurs* in A. B. Guthrie's

The Big Sky ; by Oklohoma in Steinberg's *Grapes of Wrath* ; or if you have the stomach for it, with the Donner party, in George Stewart's *Ordeal by Hunger*. These books mark the beanstalk growth of America. With us it would be as if our fathers had killed the red deer with Robin Hood, or ridden the Border with Johnny Armstrong. Hence in the work of those writers born and bred in the legendary lands, not fifty years away, the flavour of the ballads remains, the colour, the lawless pride in a man's prowess, in a woman's skill. An influence remote from New England's discipline is at work, complementary, making the dry bones live, romantic compared with the realism of the middle west and product of the rapid industrialization of the gilded age.

In 1925 Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* appeared, and after it book after book lashing out at the " America we have not been." Writer after writer traced the tragedy of the unfulfilled dream, and it blotted out the whole of life as completely as only once it does, in adolescence. Susan Glaspell, in her fine play *Inheritors* makes her point by placing Act I in 1879, the dream ; Act II in 1920, the actuality. John Dos Passos in his U.S.A. trilogy sees America, where all men were to be free and equal, divided into two conflicting nations, yet the dream, the ' story book democracy ' still beckons him on. Eugene O'Neill sums them up in *The Great God Brown*, in Dion's speech : " Born with ghosts in his eyes and brave enough to go on looking into his own dark." The writers of the Middle West are looking into their own dark.

But again the hopelessness is adolescent despair. In four moderns at least there are signs of maturity. It is implicit in Carl Sandburg's mysticism : notably in *Prayers of Steel*. It roars and rages through the prose of Thomas Wolfe. " I believe that we are lost here in America, but I believe we shall be found—I know that America and the people in it are deathless, undiscovered, and immortal, and must live ! . . . I think that the true discovery of our own democracy is before us. And I think that all these things are certain as the morning, as inevitable as noon." (Quoted from page 232 in *Writers in Crisis* by Geismar.) It teases and baffles us in the work of Thornton Wilder, and is implied in the words Hemingway puts into the mouth of Anselmo, in *For Whom the Bell Tolls*, words of" consummate importance ", condemning the putting of " thy foxhole before the interests of humanity." Foxhole, interests of humanity—from the home of the isolationist ? From a great world-power, a fresher and bigger American dream ?

But the dream looks less rosy confronted by the reality of America's South. From Virginia, the Old Dominion, to Lone Star Texas ; " Ol' Man River " of Mark Twain and Edna Ferber's *Show Boat* ; Dixie Land, and sub-tropical Florida of *The Yearling*, by M. Rawlings.

The variety of this South is forgotten, submerged in Mississippi silt, its vitality constricted by its great problem—the freed slave.

Perhaps it is mainly in the more highly-coloured romances of the Civil War that the Negro people cease to be people and become a question ; a question without an answer, if we are to believe Sinclair Lewis in *Kingsblood Royal*. It might be better if we confined our reading about the problem to such serious studies as Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944)* recommended by John Gunther in *Inside U.S.A.*, or to sober biographies. One such was published in 1947 : the life of one of the greatest scientists of our day, *George Washington Carver*, by Rackham Holt. Dr. Carver's mother bought by Moses Carver for seven hundred dollars disappeared in the wild days of the Civil War. Chapter I that brings the wailing bundle back to the Carver house is headed : " Oh, Mary, don't you weep ", Chapter II is " I was young when I begun " ; Chapter III. " The Young Lambs must find the way ". We see the child exploring his world. Aunt Sue knitted, the child watched. " I can do that," he said, and the long fingers that became world-famous in the manipulation of scientific apparatus, made needles from turkey-feathers, and knitted, too. In the great plantation house one day the small black boy crept into the forbidden parlour. Pictures, portraits ! How did they come to be ? " He made them with his hands. He made them with his hands. I want to do that," was the response. And he did. Aunt Sue gave him a spelling-book and he learnt to read. *Little Women* came into his hands. " I can do that," he said, and wrote a story in the manner of Miss Alcott. Slowly the young lamb found the way, through the nightmare difficulties of an education provided for white youths, even for Red Indians, but forbidden to him. Chapter VIII's heading suggests triumph. " An' the walls came tumblin' down " for the head of the Agricultural Department in the world-famous Tuskegee Institute, recipient of the F. D. Roosevelt Medal for Service in the Field of Science, dinner at the White House acclaimed as "a liberator to men of the white race as well as to the black ; a bridge from one race to the other on which men of good will may learn of each other." But he still might not enter hotels by the front door nor use the white man's lift ; he was still excluded from the audience that listened to Paderewski ; and, more bitter for an artist, from the special exhibition of Italian paintings. The book, no mere success-story, nor preaching any sermon, was written under Dr. Carver's supervision until his death in 1943, and breathes his spirit of devotion to scientific truth, and to the service of his own race. There is a colour-question indeed, but the problem is rather one of the white race than of the black.

* A condensed edition by Arnold Rose, *The Negro in America*, was recently published by Secker & Warburg. 21s.

In view of America's much advertised materialistic outlook, her sense of spiritual values is perhaps a little surprising. Yet from the beginning of American history, this " orient Word " has sounded. In Roger Williams, founder of Rhode Island State, who in 1644 declared all persecution to be most " lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus," it echoes clearly. John Woolman, the Quaker saint of New Jersey, toiling up and down the country with his " concern " about slave-holding, sounds it for the eighteenth century. Whittier, and the Transcendentalists, kept it alive amidst the industrialism of the nineteenth century. The spiritual values have never been left without a witness, for they, too, form part of the American dream.

HOME FROM INDIA

By Gordon Symes

HER image keeps hold of him—so that giddy hill
Over Kailana heartbreakingly clung
To the blind quick feet of the women, overhung
With trusses of hay like thatch. She trails him till,
Even at home, his nostrils sometimes fill
With airs of balsam, hookah, burning dung,
Sandalwood and half-cured leopardskin, as strong
As that queer odour we dream when we're falling ill.
Will he never be whole ? He's no desire to return.
He hates her, as he begins already to hate
Himself, for a feeling he can't exorcise.
Now he's father and brother to all, can't escape his concern
For those pert wistful children who, early and late,
Plagued him like flies—who also die like flies.

CORRESPONDENCE

INDO-CHINA AND HOME RULE

To the Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY.

Sir,

May I reply to the comments of M. Dang-Chan-Lieu on my article on Indo-China in the March issue of THE FORTNIGHTLY ? My article was meant as a factual presentation of the background to the Vietnamese problem, not as a critical analysis of the French administration, and I can only refer him to my observations on Bao-Dai, M. Bollaert and General Xuan which should make abundantly clear my views on this score.

M. Lieu emphasizes Viet Minh's " anti-imperialist, anti-Fascist but in no way anti-French convictions." From ample evidence to the contrary, I cite :

(*a*) the main points of Viet Minh's 1942 programme : (1) eviction of the French, Pétainists and Gaullists, both being described as "two sets of colonial Fascists".(2) Complete independence with the help of the Chinese.

(*b*) The guiding principles of Viet Minh's economic policy, as defined by Trin Van Binh, Under-Secretary of State for Finance on November 9, 1946 : (1) Economic warfare against the French. (2) Boycotting of all French and foreign goods except essential commodities. (3) Return to a " simpler way of life " to reduce imports to a minimum.

(*c*) Viet Minh troops going into action in Hanoi on December 19, 1946, were commanded by 200 Japanese officers.

Viet Minh's anti-imperialism only sprung to life after Japan's collapse. Throughout the war it concluded many "gentlemen's agreements " with the Japanese, which accounts for the extraordinary ease with which it secured power in August 1945.

M. Lieu depicts the " Dong Minh Hoi " and " Viet Nam Quoc Dan Dan " as " Kuomintang-controlled ". He omits that Viet Minh itself was a Chinese creation, sponsored by Marshal Chang Fa-kwei, Governor of Kiangsi, where the communists gained such an ascendancy that their leader, Ho-Chi-Minh, was imprisoned for 18 months. M. Lieu does not deny the liquidation of the Opposition, but speaks of " troubles and disorders " after the signing of the March 6 Convention (which Viet Minh's Propaganda Minister described as " a lull before the next battle "). Authoritative accounts of the true nature of this " agitation ", given at the time by leading British, U.S. and French papers, bear no resemblance to M. Lieu's version of those events.

In support of his statement on the Haiphong incident and subsequent hostilities, M. Lieu resorts to poor argument. The evidence incriminating Viet Minh would require a whole book to describe. Unbiased reports on the Langson, Haiphong, and Hanoi massacres appeared in *The Times* on February 7-8, 1947, and only substantiated similar reports on the subject.

I always regarded the Autonomous Cochin-Chinese Republic as, at best an experiment, at worst a makeshift arrangement. If because of Viet Minh, the French Government was compelled to transform a temporary expedient into a permanent reality, the blame should not be laid at their door, and certainly not at mine. As for my alleged " myth " about Tong Bo, the " Secret Committee ", I find in my article no mention of any myth or secrecy. If, as M. Lieu suggests, General Xuan has no support in Cochin-China why should nearly three million Caodists and Hoa-Haos fight Viet Minh as their most deadly enemies ?

M. Lieu extols Ho-Chi-Minh as a statesman of the first order. For this "greatness" I cite the following :

In 1920, he helped to organize the French Communist Party,

In 1937, he planned and directed the abortive communist rising in N. Indo-China.

In 1945, he tried to play off the Allies against one another, and the Americans against them all.

The Paris delegation of the "Vietnamese Democratic Republic" is neither Republican nor democratic but a mouthpiece of the Far-Eastern Cominform.

Yours faithfully,

Reading, Berks. DAVID INGBER.

IS GERMANY BEING DEMOCRATIZED ?

To the Editor of THE FORTNIGHTLY

Sir,

I should like to comment on Mr. Cremer's comment on my article in your March issue. Let me say first of all that neither I nor any liberal American is satisfied with the policy of the occupation forces in Germany. No criticism is stronger than the one made in the U.S.A. against this policy. Mr. Cremer's line is characteristic and I have met it a thousand times in Germany. It may be summed up as a demand for angelic understanding of the German problem with no reciprocation on the part of the Germans. Surely, the position of a military government trying to establish a democratic system in a defeated country, which does not want democracy, is also no easy one. Every drunken soldier in Germany is blown up into a representative of the whole occupation army ; one delivery of rotten dates was represented to me many times as characteristic of American supplies to Germany (free of charge, anyway).

Specifically : Mr. Cremer's statements about press and censorship are simply not true. To be sure there is control. But how necessary it is ! I can document innumerable cases where relaxation of supervision has promptly led to the appearance of anti-Semitic, nationalistic, and militaristic articles. I have gone through German journals for one month only : July 15 to August 15, 1948, and I find :

very serious criticism of the now defunct JEIA (calling it even commercial espionage) in *Die Zeit*, July 29, *Schwaebische Landeszeitung*, July 27, *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Mainz) July 27 ;
of dismantling, *Die Zeit*, July 29, *Rhein Neckar Zeitung*, August 2, 11 ;
of no German shipping, *Rheinischer Merkur*, July 17 ;
of currency reform, *Rheinischer Merkur*, July 24, 31 ;
of allied interference in school system, *Rheinischer Merkur*, July 24 ;
of the black market, quoting prices for butter, coffee, and cigarettes in *Rheinischer Merkur*, July 24, also *Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 16.

All these are daily newspapers. Criticism is much stronger in certain opinion weeklies or monthly journals.

Since Mr. Cremer brings up the topic of Bishop Wurm, it might be said that if the Church leaders had shown the courage of their convictions under the Nazis (a very few did) instead of using it now to apologize for the Nazis, it might have contributed more to the saving of the Christian spirit in Germany. I agree that the war crimes trials are futile, but to balance third degree methods by Americans in some cases, against Nazi atrocities (which Mr. Cremer does not do expressly, but many Germans do) does not seem to need discussion.

Yours faithfully,

University of Minnesota. WERNER LEVI.

MARIA EDGEWORTH AND A "GENTLEMAN-PHILOSOPHER"

By W. Forbes Gray

THE centenary, on May 22, of the death of Maria Edgeworth, whose lively and humorous descriptions of Irish character in a series of novels culminating in *Castle Rackrent* obtained a decided vogue in their day, recalls the fact that her literary friendships included a "Scottish Gentleman-Philosopher" (as she dubbed him) with whom she maintained a correspondence that in some ways gives even a better idea of her capabiliites than her novels. This personage was Sir David Brewster, one of the foremost of Victorian scientists. Brewster made original contributions to optics, invented the kaleidoscope, and vastly improved the illuminating power of lighthouses. Moreover he was Principal of two Scottish universities. A son-in-law of "Ossian" Macpherson, he was a discriminating admirer of Miss Edgeworth's stories, and in their composition the Irish novelist frequently had recourse to him. Some of her letters are reproduced in *Home Life of Sir David Brewster*, published some eighty years ago and hardly known to the present generation.

In his student days Brewster was much concerned regarding the authorship of the letters of Junius. Writing to Miss Edgeworth on December 8, 1823, he mentions having collected "some curious documents" tending to throw light on the subject. "In looking over some old papers of the late Mr. Macpherson of Belleville ("Ossian") I found a packet of hurriedly-written notes on East Indian affairs signed 'Lachlan Macleane'. The first I read had the following sentence: "The feelings of the man are not fine but he must be chafed into sensation"—a passage so beautiful and so like Junius, that upon no other evidence, I supposed I had found out the great secret. On a little reflection I recollected a story in Galt's "Life of Benjamin West" relative to Junius and was impressed with the belief that the name of Macleane was used in it. This I found to be the case, and I have now accumulated such a body of evidence that Henry Mackenzie (*Man of Feeling*) and many persons here who are good judges of evidence consider the point as nearly made out. Macleane was an Irishman. He studied medicine at Edinburgh and went out in Otway's regiment to Canada as an army surgeon. . . . He afterwards practised in Philadelphia. An intrigue with one of the patients drove him from that city, and in crossing the Atlantic in the same ship with Colonel Barry, this gentleman . . . recommended him to Lord Shelburne as Under-Secretary of State. In this capacity he acted for some time till he and Lord Shelburne were turned out of office." Macleane lived in London during all the time that Junius wrote, moved in the first political circles, and ultimately was appointed Commissary General in Bengal, an appointment conferred three months after Junius ceased to write. While returning from India in 1780 Macleane was lost with all his papers in a vessel which was never heard of.

Brewster was indefatigable in trying to unearth "the mighty boar of the forest" as Burke termed Junius, sparing no pains by correspondence in Scotland, England, Ireland and America. Macleane was his favourite claimant. His Irish birth, his connection with, and knowledge of Scotland, together with the

appearance of his supposed portrait in a contemporary print called "the Tripartite Junius", and many other curious particulars confirmed Brewster in the belief that Macleane was Junius. In two articles in the *North British Review* he subjected the arguments in favour of Sir Philip Francis and other claimants to a most searching investigation. After reading the *Memoirs* of Francis, however, he was candid enough to admit that while "not convinced" of Sir Philip's authorship, the book had "greatly staggered" his previous firmly held view that Macleane had earned the distinction.

While Miss Edgeworth was unable to assist Brewster in his inquiry about Junius, she appealed to him in a literary venture of her own. "I am writing a philosophical tale upon the dangers and follies, tragic and comic, of 'Taking for granted.' I wish you would help me to a few good instances either in science or in common life." Brewster responded with alacrity. "I fear my instances of 'taking for granted' may have too much prose or pedantry in them for your use, but if they suit you I could easily give you more as all the grave blunders which mark the history of science are referable to that source of error."

In conjunction with her father, Miss Edgeworth published two volumes of educational essays embodying to some extent the theories propounded in Rousseau's *Emile*. Subsequently father and daughter applied these theories in a series of stories for the young. One of them entitled "Harry and Lucy" had been begun by the parent, and after his death Miss Edgeworth completed it. She could do nothing to please herself, she told her friends, till this task was done. *Harry and Lucy* was published in 1825 and brought Miss Edgeworth £400. On October 9, 1823, she again sought Brewster's help. "I am writing a sequel to my father's *Harry and Lucy* which I am naturally desirous should be worthy of his beginning. But this is a hard battle to me, as I have not, what I once heard a gentleman boast he possessed, 'a leetle scientific knowledge that came naturally.' Whatever I have came very unnaturally and with hard labour, and most of it from your (that is, Brewster's) *Encylopaedia* and others. My wish would be to send you some parts of *Harry and Lucy* to look over before going to press. But from this I am deterred by the hatred which I feel myself to looking over other people's MSS. and correcting them. I know, moreover, from your dear bosom friends that you are one of the most indolent philosophers extant—a bold word—and you never can bring yourself to finish your own undertakings for the press, even till the last gasp, though all the printers' devils are waiting for you and urging you! Then how much the less could I expect that you should correct for me, who am neither devil quite, nor angel quite, nor anything at all to you? Then supposing your good nature, chivalry, Quixotism, or some of what becomes a Scottish gentleman-philosopher, should work and egg you up to accept this troublesome task, which all the while would go against your natural stomach, there remains the difficulty of transmitting the pages of the MSS. to you. Not a soul or body near but has too much conscience to be obliging, as they used to be, in franking large packets. . . . So I give it up, and only write this to divert you some fine day when you have grown too pale over the midnight lamp."

But the plan was not given up. Officials proved obliging and the "Scottish gentleman-philosopher" accessible. Accordingly all the MSS. of *Harry and Lucy* passed under Brewster's scientific scrutiny and, in addition, were read aloud to his four boys in order to judge of a story interlarded with science on juvenile minds. In returning each packet Brewster sent judicious advice and encouragement, suggesting "the introduction of the Chinese fish or serpents (as they are called) which are made of thin ivory, as a striking illustration of the effects of moisture." On March 19, 1824, he congratulates the Irish

novelist upon "the very perspicuous account" she has given of the phenomina of mother-of-pearl, but in the following month expresses strong disapproval of her estimate of James Watt. "The passage you quote from the Scotch novel relative to Mr. Watt is quite overstrained, and in every respect utterly incorrect. . . . I am convinced that steam-boats and steam-engines would have been in the same state of perfection at this moment had Mr. Watt never lived."

There appears to have been a frequent interchange of plants and minerals between Edgeworthstown and Brewster's house in Edinburgh. Sir David thanks the novelist for "the American moss which derives special interest from its description in *Harry and Lucy*. Another letter informs Miss Edgeworth that Scott was at work on his *Napoleon*, that it had "annoyed" him more than any of his other productions, and that he did not know whether he would finish *Napoleon* or *Napoleon* finish him. Later Brewster imparts the information that Scott is about to make a fortune by a cheap edition of the Waverley novels, and inquires why Miss Edgeworth "should not make ten thousand pounds by doing the same."

Brewster paid a long deferred visit to Edgeworthstown in 1827. His impressions are conveyed to his wife in a letter dated July 17. "My visit here has been a very agreeable and delightful one. A more extraordinary family for talents, mutual affection, and everything that can interest, I could not have conceived. . . . We sit down to dinner, a family party of sixteen, and a merrier one you have never seen. Miss Edgeworth is to send with me some plants for you, and I hope to get what is very rare, a white rhododendron. . . . She is to send some curiosities to Harry."

So ends a vivacious and revealing correspondence between Miss Edgeworth and her "Scottish gentleman-philosopher."

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, *by* Douglas Jerrold. *Collins.* 21s.

While it is difficult to accept the claim of Mr. Douglas Jerrold that no one else has written an introduction to English History about the period from the earliest times to 1204, it must be conceded that his particular presenation has in it elements of novelty. When Hilaire Belloc first launched his attack on the orthodox historians, mostly Whig, it seemed doubtful how far his repudiation of Teutonic origins would go, but the case now seems to be established that the Victorian writers, such as Hallam and Green, not to speak of Macaulay, were guilty of undue insularity in their treatment of English history. They accepted for the most part, somewhat uncritically, the view that the Saxon raids entirely altered the racial and political constitution of Britain; failed to regard the country as one with civilized Europe—that part which depended on the culture which Toynbee has called "Western Christendom", and in their zeal for the Reformation ignored the philosophic and religious influences of the medieval Catholic Church and its secular contributions to ordered life.

In this sense Mr. Jerrold is a Bellocian; he denies the existence of automatic progress. "The history of the ages of progress," he says "is the history of constant effort and of hardships in order that the future shall not be sacrificed to the present"—here we detect Toynbee again— and emphasizes the need of wise government. Starting with the prehistoric ages, he pilots the reader through the Roman period, both pre-Christian and theocratic, but fails, I think, to connect these earlier largely unknown times with the later developing medieval society which he leaves, to my regret, at the beginning of the thirteenth century. It would perhaps have been better if the author had limited his earlier observations to a mere introduction and carried on his work to cover the age

which culminated with that great sovereign and law-giver Edward I.

Another weakness is the amount of the book which is devoted to long quotations from others, all duly acknowledged, but which sometimes break the continuity of the general exposition. "There are few things in English History," Mr. Jerrold contends, "more dramatic than the sudden quickening of growth which came with the seventh century and continued for a period of more than 200 years." He ascribes this primarily to the activities of four men, Saint Benedict, as founder of monastic orders, Justinian, Gregory the Great and Mohamet, though he is of opinion that Justinian's ambitious attempt to restore the Empire in its entirety proved so profligate an undertaking as to accelerate the breakdown of the Roman system. Of Gregory, who became Pope a quarter of a century after the death of Justinian, he writes that he was the founder of the medieval papacy, in that though he did not claim a secular authority, he established a universal moral one. His mission to England in 596 is, of course, peculiarly important to an historian of this realm.

The fact that at the Conquest the transfers of land were rather of jurisdiction than private property preserved the normal mode of living of the defeated; only the big landowners were dispossessed and the Anglo-Norman feudal settlement was no social revolution. Indeed it is not till the time of the Angevins, he writes, that the King's jurisdiction and peace finally prevailed over the feudal manorial rights of the aristocracy.

This is an excellent book for persons who do not desire to become specialists in medieval history. It is not very profound, but as an attempt to provide people interested with a readable conspectus it is much to be commended.

HENRY SLESSER.

THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY, by Harold J. Laski. *Allen & Unwin.* 25*s.*

This is a disappointing book. It is, as its publishers state, "a discussion on the grand scale of every aspect of American public life." It is also true that it is informed with "a vast learning" and "set in the perspective of Professor Laski's deep study of comparative constitutional history and political theory." But a cake which with these ingredients ought to make the mouth water somehow only succeeds in cloying the palate and leaving the appetite unsatisfied. Plums there are a-plenty but the whole remains heavy and leaden. The fault, one suspects, is in the baking. Somehow it has failed to rise.

"Laski is going to leave us for London to be a professor in—I forget the name, an economic thing," wrote Mr. Justice Holmes to his friend, Sir Frederick Pollock, in April, 1920. This was the point at which Professor Laski's first American period ended, the period which was the battle-ground between the last elements of Wilsonian radicalism, feverishly stimulated by the contagion of the October revolution, and the rising forces of Massachusetts reaction, personified in Lodge and Coolidge. The excitement of that contest quickened in Laski a persistent interest in the United States, but with the passage of time it seems to have hardened into a set of stereotypes which not all his rich and varied subsequent experience of America has availed to alter. It is tempting to speculate whether *The American Democracy* would have been a better book if it had been written in the first flush of that excitement of the post-war years. Much, no doubt, would have been sacrificed—of the learning and the experience, in particular. But perhaps it would have compensated for this by a freshness of vision, a lively contemporaneity of treatment which the later, fuller volume lacks.

Professor Laski, of course, writes as a socialist, and his attitude to the United

States always has about it something of the evangelist who is warning the unbeliever of the error of his ways and the brevity of the period remaining for repentance and salvation. He devotes a great deal of his book to a demonstration that the United States is a 'business civilization' and is consequently being impelled towards catastrophe by the logic of capitalism's inner contradictions. The degree of conviction that this argument carries will differ, of course, with the political views of the reader, but there are two features of this treatment of a familiar theme that seem to me unfortunate from any point of view. Far too much time, in the first place, is devoted to demonstrating how much less frequent in the United States is the abnormal than the normal, or how much less popular is nonconformity than conformity.

Surely it is no occasion for surprise that the American radio devotes little time to airing attacks on the Constitution, the Christian religion or orthodox sexual morality? Or that American newspaper owners are on the whole supporters of the *status quo*? In all these respects the United States is no different from any other country. What *is* significant about it, compared with some other countries, is the latitude it offers, within these norms, to criticism and experiment.

Again, Professor Laski is often misleading in his failure to set American achievements in a framework of comparison with those of other countries. He pays the United States the compliment of judging its performance, all too often, by absolute standards, but it is a compliment liable to recoil rather savagely on its recipient when it falls into the hands of the ignorant or the doctrinaire. Americans, no doubt, are entitled to judge their own country by the highest standards; foreigners who wish to understand it have to remember that neither its virtues nor its good fortune relieve it of the ills and frailties of the human kind.

H. G. NICHOLAS.

THE CASE FOR COMMUNISM, by William Gallacher, M.P. *Penguin Books*. 1*s*. 6*d*.

It is fitting that *Penguin Books* should add to their publications on Labour and Conservatism by a new "Special" presenting *The Case for Communism* by as fervent a communist as William Gallacher, M.P. Unfortunately, nowhere does he define his subject. Even when he relates Communism to Socialism his statements are bewildering. On page 47 Communism is "the higher stage of Socialism" and "history is moving forward from Capitalism to Socialism, and on to Communism." This seems to be confirmed on page 166 where he writes of "socialism, which is itself a transitional stage towards Communism." Yet on the previous page he had stated that: "It is necessary to explain the relation between our *ultimate* goal, a socialistic system of society, and our *immediate* programme" (author's italics). Thus, whether Socialism is the final goal or only a stage towards a still more distant goal, the reader is left to guess.

Even more unsatisfactory is Mr. Gallacher's exposition of the foundation of Communism itself. He states categorically: "Our view of the universe, of what it is and how it develops is materialistic." "I accept Marx . . . when he says: 'The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong, is the only reality'" (page 12). He claims that "the communist outlook is founded on scientific, historical proof" (page 8). While granting that all the details of a vast subject cannot be expounded within one small volume, we may reasonably look for some facts in justification of the scientific and historical foundations of the case for Communism, yet we look in vain. To rely upon science for proof of a materialistic interpretation of the universe is to confess oneself out of date—of the period of Marx, indeed.

Further, the author undermines his own materialistic foundation when he

claims that a communist society "provides the people with all their wants, so that they can lead fully developed physical and spiritual lives." If "the material world is the only reality", what meaning can "spiritual" have?

The materialistic premiss has inevitable corollaries. Since, according to Communism, the universe is material, then things, not people, are what chiefly matter. The author apparently does not grasp this consequence. For society as a whole the communist creed is deeply concerned; but for individual members of society, as individuals, it appears to care little. Herein lies the explanation of Communism's ruthlessness wherever it obtains power.

Communism as expounded by Mr. Gallacher is a creed of loose thinking and self-contradiction based upon outmoded scientific ideas. It does not flatter the intelligence either of its advocates or of the masses of the British people whom it seeks to convert.

S. Reed Brett.

ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN PEACE AND WAR, by Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy. *Hutchinson.* 25*s*.

More than any other man, Mr. Henry Stimson has represented, over a long period of time, the opinion of the Average American on foreign affairs. This biography, therefore, does not only trace Mr. Stimson's own changes of thought from the benign but ineffective diplomacy of his early days as Secretary of State, to the solid realism of his recommendation, as Secretary of War, that the atomic bomb be used on the Japanese. It also describes, by a parallel process, the development of American public opinion from the nineteen-twenties to the present time. The book is not, in fact, written by Mr. Stimson himself. He contributes a foreword which describes with charm and colour his own boyhood and early life up to the time of his entry into public office at the age of thirty-eight. From then on the account is taken over by Mr. Bundy. But Mr. Stimson tells us, "where he writes what I have thought and felt, he does so after we have worked together for eighteen months in an earnest effort to make a balanced and accurate account."

It is inevitable that this book should stand comparison alongside other products of our rich, post-war harvest in biography and autobiography. In some ways it shows at a disadvantage. It does not reveal the personality and the private motives of a great public figure as intimately as do Mr. Churchill's memoirs, or General Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe*, simply because it is not written by Mr. Stimson himself. And at the same time Mr. Bundy has not been able to write as freely, in criticism or in praise, as could the author of *The White House Papers*. Nevertheless the book makes fascinating reading and will stand as an historical document. Mr. Stimson himself describes it as a pilot biography—"written while my memory of important events is still alive—in order to forestall possible biographies written without the careful aid of my papers or myself."

Mr. Stimson served under six Presidents and was in the cabinet of four. As long ago as the London Naval Treaty it was he who was Secretary of State. He shaped the policy of the State Department throughout the Manchurian episode and at the time of the Sino-Japanese struggle outside Shanghai in 1932. From these early beginnings he watched and opposed the growth of aggression and treaty-breaking which culminated in September 1939. Steadily, inevitably, as these pages show, he realized—and his countrymen realized with him—the folly of opposing moral condemnation against armed force. In January 1933, he wrote:

> The policy of careful, non-irritating but firm assistance in lining up the powers against Japan is the one that is going to win out, and the moral pressure upon Japan is going to be really more effective than the economic pressure which she is up against in having

bitten off more than she can chew.

Fourteen years later, in January 1947, he records his own mistake :

> . . . We lacked the courage to enforce the authoritative decision of the international world. We agreed with the Kellogg Pact that aggressive war must end. We renounced it and we condemned those who might use it. But it was a moral condemnation only. We thus did not reach the second half of the question—what will you do to an aggressor when you catch him ? If we *had* reached it, we should easily have found the right answer, but that answer escaped us for it implied a duty to catch the criminal and such a choice meant war. . . . Our offence was thus that of the man who passed by on the other side.

If there are those who still doubt the stability of present-day American policy, who cannot understand how in twenty years a nation can have matured from isolation to world leadership, this book is their answer.

GORDON WINTER.

THE FIRST ASSEMBLY OF THE WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES, held at Amsterdam, August 22 to September 4, 1948. Official Report, edited by the General Secretary, W. A. Visser 't Hooft. *S.C.M. Press.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

In 1910 and at Edinburgh was held the first large-scale Conference of the leaders of the various Churches for consultation and co-operation in their common task in its missionary aspect. In 1925 at Stockholm and in 1937 at Oxford, the representatives met to consider the rôle of the Churches in the social, political and economic life of the nations : " Life and Work." In 1917 at Lausanne and in 1937 at Edinburgh they conferred on what separated and what united them, in the hope that one day the grounds of full unity might be found : " Faith and Order."

By 1938 it had become evident that the need and the desire to merge these three streams into one were urgent, and the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches, as the comprehensive body was to be called, was planned to take place at Utrecht in 1940. War transferred it to Amsterdam and 1948. This Report shows that the vitality of growth towards co-operation was not stunted but enhanced by war.

It is a matter of thanksgiving that the Churches should strive towards the eventual healing of the scandal of their unhappy divisions, even though, as yet, " Churches " must regretfully be taken to exclude the Church of Rome, by its own decision ; but it does represent the non-Roman Churches of grown stature and full autonomy the world over, to a total of 147 ; and this Report leaves no doubt their joint consultations seek to get to the very soul of human life and relationship.

Herein is one of the main sources of hope and encouragement for a century which has much cause for apprehension and pessimism. Only a few decades ago a World Council of Churches might have been regarded as a concern internal to themselves in a civilization secure on agreed moral foundations ; today we know to our cost that the fundamental moral principles —truth justice, honesty, honour and, indeed the very conception of the nature of man—which the old world recognized as binding even if it did not always live up to them are no longer so accepted and are in some quarters actively denied as outworn and invalid. The results are obvious in the moral chaos of our times : whence shall they be recovered if not through the Churches revived in quality and acting in concert?

Great care has been taken in the selection of this Report from a mass of material, and in its presentation ; unlike the Lambeth Report, it includes descriptions of certain public occasions and often gives by name the contributions made by speakers ; and it covers a very wide field. The Universal Church in God's Design, The Church and the Disorders of Society, The Life and Work of the Laity, and of Women in the Church, are but a few headings, together with the Constitution and the Rules of the World Council and a particularly welcome and apposite statement by the Youth Delegation.

The whole breathes courage and hope in the face of arduous difficulties.

JOHN HALET.

THE WEST OF ENGLAND, by Ruth Manning-Sanders. *Batsford.* 12*s.* 6*d.*

What is the underlying and essential charm of the West Country which has brought Cornwall, Devon and Somerset into prominence as the "nation's holiday ground"? In her long introduction prefacing a pilgrimage of devotion, Mrs. Manning-Sanders assembles the rich heritage of history and legend, enumerating also the available recreations likely to attract holiday-makers of varying tastes. She advertises and defends the attractions of a district that clings even yet to old-world usages, and looks at it in terms of past glories and present prospects.

The Land's End is the starting-point of the itinerary, and from here to Penzance, or across the water to the Isles of Scilly where lies buried under the waves the legendary land of Lyonesse with its 140 churches, the full force of this primitive world is powerfully evoked. Cornwall is full of dim ghosts, of giants and pixies that sprang from the magic cauldron of Celtic heathendom, and to-day they are forgotten while the once prosperous tin-mines lie moss-covered and idle. No longer will exiles drink to the prosperity of pilchards, tin and copper, for it is the clay-works and the tourist industry that are changing the Duchy, grooming it for another epoch.

Devon and Somerset are quieter counties. They were not stirred so violently by the Wesleyan doctrine and they lack that sense of separateness which long stiffened the necks of the Cornish. Yet they have glories of their own no less impressive; unrivalled seascapes and fewer dull tracts of treeless inland scenery. Dartmoor is the wildest of Devon's gems. By its borders, within the scent of its pure air, lived Robert Herrick writing his immortal verses while torn between love and hate. Somerset has Exmoor and the wild red deer, the Quantocks and all the memories of the Wordsworth-Coleridge association which blossomed under the tenderness of Tom Poole.

Selection in work of this kind is the test of its value as art; and if, as implied by the method adopted, tradition itself is the source of enchantment, then the attention to folklore is insufficient. Knowledge of this subject is not the author's strong point. In writing of the Cornish "buccas" she fails to note that these are of two kinds —*bucca-gwidden* and *bucca-dhu*, the one good and the other mischievous. There is also irrationality in an advocacy of western facilities directed at the potential tourist which can complain that at the fishing-village of Polperro—"every season the tourist menace goes from bad to worse."

To some this book may seem unduly eclectic; but the author having gone to many orchards for her apples, has squeezed from them a cider that is her own brew.

E. W. MARTIN.

HOW THE GREEKS BUILT CITIES, by R. E. Wycherley. *Macmillan.* 16*s.*

THE ENGLISH INTERIOR, 1500 TO 1900, by Ralph Dutton. *Batsford.* 21*s.*

The Greek city brings immediately to the mind the literary tradition in which it is imbedded for English readers. We cannot separate it from the fifth-century dramatists, philosophers, historians, poets and orators. We think of the Greek city as a place where we might talk familiarly with Socrates, listen to Pericles, see the new play of Sophocles, and join in the vivid life of that ancient world which yet seems so modern. In fact we think of Athens in its prime. Such a conception would be false to Greek thought and to the facts; it is specially misleading in the study of Hellenic architecture. Little of Athens survived the Persian wars. The *Description of Greece*, by Pausanias, which is the foundation of all our knowledge, was written in the second century A.D.

Many of the stately buildings described and illustrated in this work belong to that mellow autumn of antiquity when Greece had become a Roman province. The Greek genius flowered again under the Antonines but its monuments were no longer concentrated in the mainland; they were scattered over the Hellenic world.

The full development of the town plan, based on the grid and afterwards adopted throughout the Roman empire, belongs to this period. The Acropolis at Athens was never planned as a whole and the newer city at its foot bore little sign of forethought throughout the classical centuries. Professor Wycherley's important volume widens our horizon in this and other directions. He points out that the essential character of a Greek city lay not in any particular shape or arrangement of streets and buildings but in the possession of certain Hellenic elements. The *agora* (an untranslatable word nearer to "market-place" than anything else) was its living centre. Rather more is claimed for Hippodamus—a Milesian said by Aristotle to have "discovered the method of dividing cities"—than his shadowy background warrants. But if he did not invent he did apply the rectangular plan to the construction of *new* cities earlier than anyone else to whom we can point. Those already ancient retained haphazard features like our own. Archaeology has enlarged the documentary story by the recovery of successive cities on a single site—unknown often to Pausanias, for they were already built over. Thus there is no anachromism in quoting him: only a need for caution. Professor Wycherley is a safe and experienced guide.

It is a far journey from Athens to Robert Adam; we can make it without too great a sense of incongruity if the journey stops there or thereabouts. To carry the story on, as Mr. Dutton does, to 1900, is to lose some sense of direction. The history of English domestic architecture culminated, towards the end of the eighteenth century, in a direct imitation of Greek forms, no longer derived through Rome, Renaissance Italy and France. The turn of that century found the fashion reflected in women's costume—never in men's. The mode, as it affected architecture and decoration, was eclectic and highly sophisticated. We can set it against the background, roughly contemporary, of Cobbett's *Rural Rides*. A sturdy native tradition survived through all those changes in outward things which began with the importation of Italian artists by Henry VIII. The fusing of the two produced the picturesque anomaly of Tudor and Jacobean architecture. The native craftsman consented to copy the new patterns but he worked in his own idiom. He expressed in his chosen material the habit of mind which was later to turn Ypres into Wipers.

Mr. Dutton's book carries us fascinated through all such changes, aided by ample illustration, much of it unpublished; he has written a history of design which is as easy to read as it is pleasant to handle. The last chapter discloses a kind of chamber of horrors and is called "The Decay of Taste (1820-1900)." An illustration in colour of "Gothick" tracery cast in iron," from the conservatory of Carlton House (demolished in 1826) suggests the Crystal Palace in germ and all that followed. The products and influence of the Great Exhibition are well analysed and are about to become topical again. Here the book might have come to a convenient end. The time may come when Jubilee architecture and Edwardian furniture will find admirers; it has not come yet.

W. Thomson Hill.

SIXTEEN SYMPHONIES, by Bernard Shore. *Longmans, Green.* 17*s.* 6*d.*

THE MUSIC MASTERS, edited by A. L. Bacharach. *Maurice Fridberg.* 15*s.*

If there are people who like to be talked down to, Mr. Shore is not for them. The rest of us will revel in his

assembly of symphonies—one each from Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann, Brahms, Dvorak, Berlioz, Franck, Tchaikowsky, Sibelius, Elgar, Vaughan Williams, Holst, Bax and Walton. Holst's "Symphony" is found to be *The Planets* and not the *Choral*, an excusable piece of trickery on Mr. Shore's part.

Before dealing with a work Mr. Shore reminds us of the salient details of the composer's life which bear more or less directly on the music. The book is illustrated with plenty of music-type and sixteen portrait plates. (One small criticism is that speed indications are not invariably attached to the musical fragments.) The general production hints at something better than austerity.

This is excellent commentary ; it makes one wonder whether there is something about playing the viola that engenders an especially broad musical outlook. Several people come to mind who show the tendency in their extra-performing activities. Perhaps being in the middle of the orchestra, as well as in the "middle of the music", gives a viola player unrivalled opportunity for observation. But Mr. Shore is also a gifted writer : his style is polished, fluent and thoroughly in keeping with his subject ; effective imagery, sometimes fanciful but never extravagant, skilfully enlivens his commentary and reminds one that he is dealing with no mere technique but an emotive art-form. He possesses that rare power of so successfully describing music in words that, in reading, one re-lives it.

Mr. Shore has chosen works in the standard repertoire, known by all who regularly listen to orchestral concerts. If he had nothing new to say, there would have been but little reason for ignoring the claims of the unfamiliar in favour of the established familiar. He has justified his decision ; several times I had recourse to the piano and gramophone to hear afresh passages from works I thought I knew, always a rewarding experience. Incidentally, all have been recorded for the gramophone.

Mr. Shore's musical viewpoint is subjective, but no writing on music can live if this quality is absent. Tovey, whose insight into composers' thought-processes was unsurpassed, and who could scarcely be reproached for superficiality of treatment, allowed himself the freedom of colourful analogy in his writings. Not unknown, however, are writers whose imaginative treatment seems to bear little relation to the music as ordinary mortals hear it. Mr. Shore preserves an admirable balance between head and heart.

The observations on the technical troubles which beset orchestral musicians are valuable. Conductors, too, receive comment, not always laudatory, and in the analysis of Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* Toscanini's well-known interpretation is considered at length, so that we are able to understand from the inside something of the way a conductor achieves his effects. On the lighter side, it is delightful to learn that in a certain Berlioz passage for four bassoons, the quaint rattle of their finger-keys, inaudible at a distance, produces a sound "like a crowd of drilled typists."

Perhaps the contrast is unfair, but the other book arouses less enthusiasm. *The Music Masters* brings together in four volumes, of which this is the first, some two hundred and seventy potted biographies, some of which have appeared elsewhere. The authorship is various ; mostly well-known authorities, but some less so. The general standard is high and reflects credit on the Editor. The selection of the composers is largely straightforward in this first volume, and, apart from one or two surprising inclusions welcome on account of novelty, is very much what one might expect.

There are no pictures, and the book is the poorer by the omission of page headings to guide one's browsing. When completed, the series should make a valuable reference library in miniature. May one suggest that a cross-index in the final volume would treble its usefulness ?

PHILIP H. MORRIS.

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

Many a life has been marred by oft-broken resolutions to read Gibbon. Conscience may be quelled and the inferiority complex appeased with the help of Messrs. *Harrap*, who now publish SELECTIONS FROM THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE (6*s*.). In praiseworthy avoidance of the misleading, the title is perhaps over-zealous. 'Selections' implies the pertinent par and snippetry, whereas the chapters are so long and complete in themselves that, at the lowest, they deserve to be called extracts and, at the highest, essays. With the unobtrusiveness of inspired editing, J. W. Saunders has disposed his introductions and notes without ever impeding the flow of Gibbon's majestic prose.

Twilight and dawn

It is salutary to reflect once again on the small place Britain occupied in the Roman world, to read Gibbon on the barbarians—"The sound that summoned the German to arms was grateful to his ear"—and of how their admission "into the pale of civil and ecclesiastical society delivered Europe from the depredations, by sea and land, of the Normans, the Hungarians, and the Russians, who learned to spare their brethren and cultivate their possessions." ——Now, to the Americans, who then occupied no place at all, comes the consciousness of world leadership. In THE PRICE OF POWER (*Royal Institute of International Affairs*. 18*s*.) Hanson W. Baldwin spares no pains to explain that "the United States to-day is the strongest potential power on earth. . . . We have the world's greatest navy, the finest . . . air forces and a long lead in the production of atomic bombs and other new weapons." How his country must retaliate "instantly and massively against any aggressor," with guided missiles, bases overseas, alliances, a global intelligence system, underground sites, research, development and economic mobilization plans—all drearily reminiscent of the Hitler hysteria—is set out for meditation during this 1916th Easter. It is not surprising that Napoleon, Aldous Huxley and Macbeth are among the many quoted, nor that the name of Jesus is missing from the index.

Whose fault ?

Mr. Baldwin's sole scapegoat is Russia. There are, however, a few more, of which the two most obvious are the Church and science. In LIVING OPINION (*Hutchinson*. 8*s*. 6*d*.) Karl Barth asks the one a searching question: "Why are you not saying what you ought to say ?" He would like to see her battling against the current instead of in the neutral, intermediate position. The book is a collection of B.B.C. Third Programme talks which covered the field of thought from philosophy to films, from employment to modern painting, and by such diverse exponents as Rheinhold Niebuhr, Freya Stark, Cyril Burt, Salvador de Madariaga (this romantic reverberation is consistently shorn of a syllable) and Bertrand Russell.——The group of ten people, "whose studies are to be applied to . . . the glory of God the Creator . . .", which grew into the Royal Society, is the subject of Dorothy Stimson's history, SCIENTISTS AND AMATEURS (*Sigma*. 15*s*.). Three hundred years seems to be the record for such a body, and its emergence and consolidation in English history is traced in a way that, as the author says of the institution itself, "can hardly fail to be of interest as well as of importance." Great men, famous Fellows, humbly experimenting, checking and comparing with foreign scientists, stimulating exploration, influencing government and imperial policies—*onus probandi* the final blessing or curse lies heavily on their twentieth century representatives.

Tudor optimism

In the Royal Society's charter of 1663 Charles II declared himself its Founder and Patron, and was to prove that

these were no empty titles—one of the good deeds in his naughty world. About 150 years earlier another monarch of gifts and graces, and even naughtier deeds, showed himself as great a master of the written, as his successor was of the spoken word. It is a welcome digression from the American commodities of atomic bomb and fear of Russia, to browse among THE LOVE LETTERS OF HENRY VIII (*Allan Wingate.* 9*s.*) and to study for the first time photostat copies of seventeen of the Vatican letters and the British Museum's two. The collection is edited by Henry Savage, and his Introduction and Comments are adroitly interspersed, with only occasionally the trite remark to distract or annoy. This is a book to read at a sitting and to prove, in some aspects at least, that Henry was not so black as he has so often been painted.

Let's look it up

Back to the not so harsh, though probably less colourful realities of this realm, with the HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES HANDBOOK by John Moss, Barrister-at-Law (*Hadden, Best.* 25*s.*). Legislation undreamt of when monarchs were merry requires just such an unravelling book as this. The duties of local authorities are defined as (1) health functions under the National Health Service Act, 1946, (2) the provision of residential accommodation and welfare services under the National Assistance Act, 1948 and (3) the care of children under the Children Act, 1948, and are all dealt with comprehensively.——*Penguin Books* are also dealing comprehensively with another side of English life in a series of guides (2*s.* each) edited by L. Russell Muirhead who, as the editor of the *Blue Guides*, needs no recommendation. Those now on the table are entitled HAMPSHIRE AND THE ISLE OF WIGHT, DERBYSHIRE AND THE PEAK DISTRICT, SOMERSET, KENT, SUSSEX AND SURREY, NORTH WALES, WILTS AND DORSET, NORFOLK AND THE ISLE OF ELY, HERTS AND BUCKS and SUFFOLK AND CAMBS, and the series " claim . . . only to call attention to the chief features of interest and beauty . . ." The commercial element is missing, and all are sufficiently equipped with maps and drawings, walks and routes, and hints on architecture, to encourage the tourist to investigate rather than to supplement his knowledge.

Learning for life

Inextricably bound up with his health and holiday welfare is the cry that has come from the common man for books. As the Royal Society was " the invisible college " of the intellectual giants, so is the public library, though far from invisible, " the people's university." Such was the aspiration of Thomas Greenwood, " the apostle of the library movement," and he lived to see his gospel come to pass. So much is owing from so many to the name of Greenwood that it, rather than the obscuring SPADE WORK (*Hutchinson.* 10*s.* 6*d.*) might well have been used to identify Grace Carlton's biography and tribute. His tussles with the old unreformed, wire-pulling vestries and his contacts with the early direct, representative municipal government of London, composed of disinterested men, remind the Londoner of much pioneering work that is now taken for granted. The author does a service in bringing to the notice of this generation such persistence, sacrifice and vision ; her book should be widely read and prominently displayed in every public library.

Printer's ink

How much was owed to improved and cheaper methods of printing is also difficult now either to imagine or assess. And how much the printing trade owes to THE HOUSE OF HARRILD (*Harrild & Sons*) may be learned from the history which Edward Liveing has written to commemorate the years between 1801 and 1948. The story begins with a lull in the war with France when the firm printed the broadsheet, here reproduced, announcing the preliminaries of peace, and the

effect of the premature news on "the fond hearts of Wives and Children." Then came the outpouring of books, in the printing of which Harrilds had a large share, that accompanied the Romantic revival, until the character of the business began to change. This was primarily due to the revolution in the method of inking type closely associated with Harrilds—the supersession of the dabbers, in use since Caxton's day, by the rollers of the sheet-fed printing machines. From 1824 when the firm went to Friday Street and through its subsequent moves to its present premises in Norwich Street, Fetter Lane, it has been building on its reputation as a printer's supply house. The story is well and simply told and, as would be expected, the volume is a model of good printing and production.

Art and architecture

And now for a book that tells the story of a man. It consists for the most part of quotations from writings on the theatre and on stage celebrities; it includes some essays on cricket and golf; it has a number of Dickens excerpts, and some poems, notably "The Toys" of Coventry Patmore. There is much more, but the clues point unerringly—to James Agate and his personal choices in WORDS I HAVE LIVED WITH (*Hutchinson.* 12*s.* 6*d.*). It is fashionable to 'debunk' the lately dead, but this reader, who has derived much pleasure and profit from Agate's dramatic criticism, prefers to leap the gap to where the pendulum will stop swinging. His collection proclaims not only his wide reading and interests but is another proof of his astonishing industry and undimmed zeal.——One of Agate's idols, Ellen Terry, figures in the pages of THE CONSCIOUS STONE by Dudley Harbron (*Latimer House.* 12*s.* 6*d.*). This (another instance where the subject might rather have been the title) is the life of Edward William Godwin, the man for whom the actress forsook G. F. Watts, and the architect who, living from 1833 to 1886, became in the words of Max Beerbohm "the greatest aesthete of them all." His name flits through the many delightful books about the pre-Raphaelites, generally without his part in the raising of the artistic taste of the Victorians being realized. The author does him due honour with this biography, illustrated by some of Godwin's own designs, the first, according to the publishers, that has appeared.

For solution see . . .

And the publishers say that DYLAN THOMAS by Henry Treece (*Lindsay Drummond.* 7*s.* 6*d.*) "is the first full-sized critical work on his poetry." Having a poet's output explained to one is a dismaying, not to say embarrassing experience; even though it is the poet who ought to be embarrassed by its failure to explain itself. Let it be conceded that Dylan Thomas *is* a poet and that his whirling words often fall into magical patterns; but that he writes poetry is not so clear. What he *does* write is ably expounded by Henry Treece. Readers who are tough enough to get through the first ten chapters will hesitate to answer in the affirmative the question "Is Dylan a fake?" rhetorically asked in the eleventh.——After this, is there anything adequate to say about THE POETICAL WORKS OF SHELLEY, with an Introduction by Morchard Bishop (*Macdonald.* 8*s.* 6*d.*)? It is not the shabby old leather-bound copy, with tissue-paper-thin leaves, double columned, dog-eared, and much pencilled by an adolescent hand, that stands next to Keats and the others on the most convenient shelf in the room. But it is a handsome volume, attractively bound and cellophaned, with good clear type and many illustrations, and it is going presently to a small girl who loves poetry, bearing the secret hope that it too will become a growing-up companion.

GRACE BANYARD.

ADVERTISEMENT AND BUSINESS OFFICES: 4, 5 & 6, SOHO SQUARE, LONDON, W.1.
PUBLISHED FOR THE FORTNIGHTLY REVIEW, LTD., BY HORACE MARSHALL & SON, LTD., Publishing Department, Temple House, Tallis Street, E.C.4
PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY GEERINGS OF ASHFORD, LTD., 80, HIGH STREET, ASHFORD, KENT
PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND